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As Raymond Flynn prepares for a new role at the Vatican, the Monitor looks at his political legacy

'On the Streets' Style Won Acclaim for Boston's Mayor

By Keith Henderson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

ASK Ray Flynn how he knows this city, often torn by racial strife, has come a long way during his decade in office and you're likely to get an anecdote from the neighborhoods – a youth baseball game in his native South Boston, for instance.

"I played in the first Little League game in Southie, and the other night I watched what might have been my last game there and I saw white kids giving high fives to a black teammate who hit the winning double," the mayor recalls.

BOSTON *The Flynn Years*

That might have been Mr. Flynn's last Little League game for a while because the "mayor of the neighborhoods" appears destined for a new address. After some headline-making hesitation and a quick trip to Washington to clear up doubts, Boston's most popular politician could soon be off to Rome to become the United States ambassador to the Vatican.

Flynn, whose out-on-the-streets style as mayor won acclaim

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BUDGET BATTLE

Big-Ticket Science Meets An Ax-Wielding Congress

Can space station, super collider survive deficit-cutting promises?

By Max Boot

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

HOW serious was all the talk during last year's campaign about cutting the deficit? Voters will find out this week as the House of Representatives passes judgment on two big-ticket science programs.

Today lawmakers are scheduled to vote on a bill authorizing $2.1 billion for a slimmed-down version of Space Station Freedom that will eventually cost at least $25 billion. Also on the line in the next few days is $620 million for the Superconducting Super Collider in Texas.

The consensus on Capitol Hill is that budget-cutting fervor is more likely to strike down the super collider than the space station.

"The space station is in better shape because the super collider was not able to spread contracts around the country the way the space station did, and because the space station brings back the 'warm fuzzies' we all have for the '60s, Kennedy, and the man-on-the-moon," says Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D) of Colorado.

Fiscal conservatives say that's ironic because, in their minds, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's space station is more guilty of runaway spending than the Energy Department's $10 billion super collider. The space station was started in 1984 as an $8 billion program, but already has cost $9 billion, though no equipment has been built yet.

President Clinton responded to criticism from fiscal conservatives, including budget director Leon Panetta, by ordering NASA to come up with plans for a space station that would cost no more than another $9 billion over five years. After a 90-day effort, the space agency offered three versions of a leaner station, but failed to meet the cost target.

Mr. Clinton last week decided to proceed with a design similar to current plans for Space Station Freedom because, he said, "We need to stay first in space." The

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Rhinos on the Rise
Protected sanctuaries and bans on the sale of their prized horns are increasing the animals' numbers.
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From Paltry Sugar Crop, Cubans May Reap Political Change

By David Clark Scott

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF/FILE

CASH CROP COMES UP SHORT: *Farmers plant sugar cane by hand in La Paloma, Cuba. This year's sugar cane harvest is the worst in decades.*

A CENTURY before communism, Fidel Castro Ruz, and the United States trade embargo, the lifeblood of the Cuban economy was sugar.

It is still the No. 1 source of income.

But one of the world's biggest exporters of raw sugar is suffering its worst harvest in decades. Cuba's sugar-cane crop is estimated at just 4.2 million tons, down 40 percent from last year, officials say.

No one disputes that this is a major setback. But analysts disagree on the economic and political implications of the latest blow to the already-damaged economy of this Caribbean island.

"Cuba faces a catastrophic year," says António Jorge, a professor at Florida International University in Miami and a former chief economist under Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista. "This will be the worst year since inception of the revolution, and it may lead to the paralysis of the Cuban economy before the year's end," he says.

The sugar shortfall is due to severe storms and shortages of spare parts and fuel. But Cuba cannot afford a poor sugar crop because the hard currency it generates is crucial to the purchase of oil.

In 1989, under favorable trade terms with the former Soviet Union, Cuba imported 13 million tons of oil. Last year, the Cuban economy sputtered along on half as much crude, secured mostly through sugar-for-oil barters. Nonetheless, the shortage resulted in blackouts, transportation cuts, and factory shutdowns.

Last year, Cuba had 6.3 million tons of sugar to swap for oil, food, and machinery critical to the industrial base.

This year, after domestic consumption, Cuba has 3.5 million tons to sell, according to official reports. Of that, 1.5 million tons of sugar are committed to Russia for 2.3 million tons of oil. Another 700,000 tons are committed to China, of which about 500,000 has yet to be delivered.

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Israel's Rabin Again Faces Cabinet Crisis

AFTER wriggling out of one Cabinet crisis only three weeks ago, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin now faces another that threatens to bring his government down.

The draft indictment on fraud and corruption charges served Sunday night on Interior Minister Aryeh Deri heralds a major battle over his parliamentary immunity, according to political observers.

Rabbi Deri, leader of the ultra-orthodox Shas Party, a key partner in Mr. Rabin's governing coalition, is to be charged with fraud, accepting bribes, and violating the public trust, according to the draft indictment sent by Attorney General Yosef Harish.

Much political maneuvering is expected before the crisis blows up. Deri has three weeks in which to appeal to Mr. Harish to drop the charges, and if that fails, the Knesset (parliament) is not expected to debate lifting his immunity before it recesses on August 4. Under Israeli law, a formal indictment can be handed down only when the Knesset has lifted a member's immunity.

The charges stem from Deri's stewardship of the Interior Ministry where he was named deputy director-general at the age of 25 in 1984. He went on to become director-general before being made minister.

The draft indictment refers only to allegations that Deri used public money for personal use. A separate set of allegations that he diverted public money to his party, is still under investigation.

Shas has come under close judicial scrutiny of late for the way in which it has built itself into the most powerful of the ultra-orthodox parties in little more than a decade.

A former Shas member of the Knesset, Yair Levy, is currently serving a five-year jail term for corruption; the Shas deputy religious affairs minister, Raphael Pinhasi, has lost his parliamentary immunity and faces trial for violating the law governing party finances; and another dozen senior Shas figures are under police investigation.

– Peter Ford

INTERNATIONAL

Croatia Braces After Serb Vote

Zagreb vows to use military force to prevent unification of Croatian, Bosnian Serbs

TOMISLAV PETERNEK/REUTERS

FAMILIAR SCENE: *Serbs in Croatia voted last weekend to unify the land they hold with territory held by Bosnian Serbs. Croatian Serb soldiers cast ballots in the village of Petrovic.*

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

SMILCIC, CROATIA

EVKA BABIC, an elderly Croatian peasant, does not care about politics. She just wants the killing to end.

"All the Serb towns are bombed. All the Croat towns are bombed," Mrs. Babic says as she sits in a friend's kitchen, waiting to eat a salad of nettles and weeds the two rely on to supplement their meager diets.

"We had really good relations here," she recalls, recounting decades of ethnic peace in this mostly Serb village set amid the majestic wilderness of the mountains flanking Croatia's Adriatic coast. "I would like us to live together again."

That may be a distant dream. Last weekend Croatian Serbs overwhelmingly voted to unify the 35 percent of Croatia they captured in 1991 with the self-styled state of their ethnic brethren in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Every Croatian Serb voter interviewed said they would never again live in Croatia.

The referendum is seen as another step in the Serbs' effort to create a "Greater Serbia" in the Balkans – the merger of Serb-conquered areas of Croatia and Bosnia with rump Yugoslavia.

But the most immediate concern arising from the vote is that it will prompt another war between Serbs and Croats fighting over Croatian territory. Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks warned in a Monitor interview that Croatia would resort to force to regain Serb-controlled territories if a political resolution cannot be reached.

UN officials worry that Croatian hardliners will use the referendum results to push for military action against the Croatian Serbs – a move that could spark a military conflict with the rump Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro.

"If the war breaks out here, it will be hard to control," a UN official says. "The big question is what will the Croats do."

The town of Smilcic has been nearly deserted since January, when Croatian troops surrounded the town. Their offensive marked the end of a truce between Croatia and its militant Serb minority, who with Yugoslav Army backing fought a 1991 war to seize Croatian territory.

Only Serbian soldiers and stray dogs stir among the sun-baked homes, many of which are damaged by daily shellfire from Croatian guns a mile away.

The 1991 war in Croatia was provoked by President Franjo Tudjman's declaration of independence from former Yugoslavia. Whipped by Belgrade propaganda into a hysteria over a resumption of World War II persecution, Orthodox Serbs in Croatia – 12 percent of the overwhelmingly Catholic population of 4.7 million – revolted, claiming the right to remain united with their ethnic brethren.

Under the 1991 truce accord brokered by UN mediator Cyrus Vance, 15,000 UN troops were deployed in the Serb-controlled territory to maintain peace pending a political resolution. The pact specified, however, that the area would remain part of Croatia.

Since then UN-sponsored talks have failed to make headway, hindered by Serbian intransigence and the refocusing of international peace efforts on Bosnia.

That prompted Mr. Tudjman to mount an offensive in January 1993 in which his troops pushed back the truce lines along the central Adriatic coast. He has refused to order a withdrawal.

The incursion, violating several UN cease-fires, including one signed in Geneva last week, helped prompt the referendum. The Croatian Serbs said the offensive demonstrated the ineffectiveness of UN peace efforts.

BUT other major factors behind the vote were international diplomacy's failure in Bosnia and the new Serb-Croat peace plan to divide that former Yugoslav republic into three ethnic states.

Many Croatian Serbs worry that President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, anxious to end devastating UN sanctions against his country, could make a deal with Tudjman that would leave their territory as part of Croatia, albeit with considerable autonomy for the Croatian Serbs.

Milan Babic, the mayor of Knin, the main town in the Serb-controlled Krajina region of Croatia, concedes that the referendum is as much a message to Mr. Milosevic as it is to Croatia and the international community.

"I admit that we are complicating the position of Belgrade," he says. "But Belgrade also has responsibilities for the Serbs outside of Serbia."

The vote marked a triumph for Mr. Babic, affirming his reemergence as the paramount Croatian Serb powerbroker. The pudgy-faced dentist was Milosevic's hand-picked leader in the 1991 revolt against Zagreb. But he soon had a falling out with Belgrade.

Babic vehemently rejected as a betrayal Milosevic's demands that he accept the Vance plan. That prompted the Milosevic to orchestrate Babic's overthrow by rivals, who then signed the pact.

Serbia argued that while its goal remained the unification of all "Serb lands," the time was not right, since such a move would not be accepted internationally.

Bitter infighting flared between pro-Babic and pro-Milosevic members of the Croatian Serb leadership.

The Babic faction regained control of the leadership after the international community refused to accept Croatian Serb independence and Tudjman's January offensive.

Babic admits that the weekend referendum was encouraged by the Bosnian Serbs' success in using a similar vote in May to stand up against Milosevic's demand that they accept the Vance-Owen peace plan and shelve for the moment the goal of "Greater Serbia."

"Mr. Milosevic will have continual problems because of this," Babic says. "I believe I am raising the hairs on the back of his neck. He will have to swallow what we are cooking."

But the situation is not that simple. The Bosnian Serb leadership has indicated that the timing of the Croatian Serb referendum was premature as it could complicate talks with the Tudjman-backed Bosnian Croats on the division of Bosnia.

For that reason, a meeting on unification of the self-declared Bosnian Serb and Croatian Serb republics that was scheduled for Saturday may be postponed.

And, like their Bosnian brethren, the Croatian Serbs are almost totally dependent on Milosevic for economic support.

But Babic is adamant that nothing but a new war will derail the Croatian Serbs' goal of secession.

Baghdad will push the UN to ease sanctions at a meeting today with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Geneva

Iraq Finds Reasons to Stall Efforts By UN to Eliminate Weapons Stocks

By Lucia Mouat
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

IRAQ is again testing the limits of United Nations resolve.

In a tough statement issued late last week, the UN Security Council warned that serious consequences could follow Baghdad's recent "unacceptable breach" of UN cease-fire terms agreed to after the Gulf war. Iraq was told that it must allow UN weapons inspectors to install monitor cameras at two rocket test sites and move certain chemical weapons equipment to a destruction site.

Iraq says it is not flatly refusing to comply with the UN, but questions the legality of the orders and wants to use the weapons equipment to produce pesticides.

Baghdad tried to argue its case in a lengthy exchange of letters and comments with officials of the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) charged with overseeing the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. But UN officials charge that Iraq is trying to renegotiate cease-fire terms already accepted.

High-level meeting

These issues and others are sure to come up today in Geneva when Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz meets with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The meeting, requested by Iraq, is expected to focus primarily on the Council's offer, first made in August 1992, to allow Iraq to sell up to $1.6 billion of oil a year to finance relief needs and UN operations in Iraq. Iraqi officials say conditions of the offer impinge on Iraqi sovereignty.

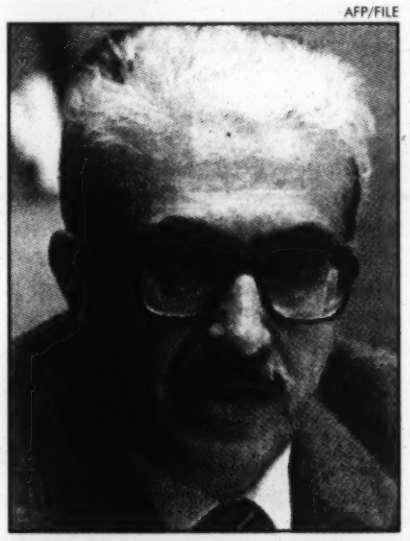
Mr. Aziż has made clear in previous appearances before the Security Council that Iraq wants dialogue and tangible gains for anything it gives up. Iraqi officials said over the weekend, for instance, that they would consider allowing the UN to monitor Iraqi weapons systems over the long term – one of the tenets of the cease-fire – if the UN were to lift its three-year-old economic sanctions against Iraq.

The Security Council, which periodically reviews the sanctions, decided as recently as May 25 not to modify them. Last week, during a visit to the White House by King Hussein of Jordan, President Clinton urged his visitor to do more to enforce UN sanctions against Iraq.

The current Iraqi challenge to the Security Council is regarded as the most serious since January, when Baghdad tried unsuccessfully to require all future UN operations to use Iraqi, rather than UN, aircraft.

Iraq had hoped the Clinton administration would prove more receptive to its complaints than the Bush administration. But the current administration insists that Baghdad be held accountable to UN standards.

AFP/FILE



SEEKING CONCESSIONS: *Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz at a Security Council session.*

"We insist on full Iraqi compliance with the whole range of cease-fire resolutions," a US official says. "I think the international community's resolve is still very strong."

Tim Trevan, a UNSCOM spokesman, agrees: "I don't really see any softening in the Council. The wedge-driving tactics of Iraq have not worked."

Iraq has picked a moment when the Security Council is unusually busy tending to crises in Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and elsewhere. Analysts suspect that Iraq hoped its lack of compliance might seem trivial by comparison.

'Dual containment'

Washington's disclosure of the new so-called "dual containment" policy with respect to Iraq and Iran may also be a factor in the timing. The US views both governments as essentially hostile to the US for the foreseeable future. Instead of playing one nation against the other as previous administrations have, the Clinton White House now sees an advantage in keeping both nations economically and militarily weak.

"I think the Iraqis see that 'dual containment' gives them no chance to get off the hook," says Hooshang Amirahmadi, a Middle East expert at Rutgers University. Iraq may want to challenge the policy "before it's too late," he says, and may view defiance of UN weapons inspectors as one way to do so.

In a June 9 letter to the UN Secretary-General, Iraqi Ambassador to the UN Nizar Hamdoon insisted that more than 1,000 inspections have been conducted in his country on everything from bread ovens and sewers to prisons and universities. Most were conducted without warning, he wrote.

'Cat and mouse'

Yet UNSCOM officials say that Iraq's lack of cooperate has slowed the UN inspection process. Iraq still has not provided full information on weapons suppliers, and UN officials doubt that Iraq's stated inventory of chemical weapons and SCUD missiles is complete. "They always play a game of cat and mouse with us," Mr. Trevan, the UNSCOM spokesman, says.

He notes that about eight UN vehicles were damaged at two sites earlier this month. On two instances in one night UN, inspectors entering a restaurant were pelted with light bulbs. "Whenever we have a problem with Iraqi officialdom, suddenly harassment starts," Trevan says. "You're dealing with a highly organized police state where, generally speaking, nobody does anything unless they know it's officially sanctioned by the regime."

Baghdad would like to send a technical team to New York July 12 to speak with UN weapons inspectors. But UNSCOM's Rolf Ekeus has said that serious discussion is not possible while Iraq is challenging the Council. Three UN inspection teams are in Iraq this week.

Nikita Smidovich, a Russian inspector leading a team of ballistic experts, has said he plans to stay in Iraq until Baghdad allows the cameras to be put in place.

German Politicians Cede Hard Decisions To Highest Court

By Francine S. Kiefer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

GERMANY'S highest court is getting too mixed up in domestic and international politics, lawmakers in Bonn are complaining.

Last month the Constitutional Court ruled on the weighty issue of abortion, overturning a liberal abortion law passed by the parliament in the 1970s. The court is now in the middle of deciding how Germany can use its troops abroad. By fall, it is supposed to rule on the constitutionality of the Maastricht Treaty, possibly deciding the fate of European union.

Political parties are increasingly turning to the court to settle disputes that should be worked out in the Bundestag or to challenge decisions already made in Bonn, analysts say. This trend is being read by some here as a sign that the country's politicians are incapable of addressing some of the most important issues of the day.

"The court has had a much greater political role thrust on it than it should, and a lot of politicians label this a concession of failure," says a diplomat in Bonn.

There is also some concern that the court's findings themselves are politically colored. When political parties continually challenge Bonn decisionmaking in court, people lose respect for the court because it is forced to make political decisions, says Werner Hoyer, secretary-general of the Free Democratic Party, the junior partner in the center-right coalition government.

Karl-Georg Zierlien, spokesman for the Constitutional Court, says the institution is not seeking a political role.

But unlike the United States Supreme Court, which can refuse to hear a case because it is too political, Mr. Zierlien explains that the German court must take each case brought before it. The court's caseload includes instances in which government bodies or political parties challenge each other's decisions. Such cases are by their very nature political, Zierlien says.

FOR instance, when Chancellor Helmut Kohl's own coalition partner, the Free Democrats, challenged the government's decision to allow German troops to fly NATO radar planes over Bosnia-Herzegovina, "political arguments did indeed play a role" in the court's handling of the case, Zierlien says.

In April, the court announced it would allow the troops to remain in the AWACS planes since pulling them out would put the capability of the NATO alliance at risk. This, the court said, is only an interim decision until the court can decide on the actual constitutionality of this case. Other deployments, including the hotly debated topic of German troops in Somalia, also await a court decision.

Lawmakers, meanwhile, are waiting anxiously to see how the court will handle the Maastricht Treaty, easily passed by the parliament but challenged by political parties on the left and right and by individuals.

There is a general feeling in Bonn that the challengers actually have a strong case – that the treaty, by transferring powers to Brussels, goes against the German Constitution, which states that "all authority emanates from the people."

But there is also a general expectation here that the court will not want to be identified as the obstacle to European unity. Legal experts anticipate the court upholding the treaty, though possibly assigning conditions to future Bonn-Brussels relations.

The involvement of the court in German politics is "bad but unavoidable," says Karsten Voigt, a member of the Bundestag for the opposition Social Democrats, which has gone to the court three times to challenge government decisions on troop deployments.

Turning to the court is unavoidable, he says, because of the great social upheaval since the end of the cold war.

"When you have structural change in politics," he explains, it's not always possible to reach consensus. These periods have occurred before, Mr. Voigt says, and then, as now, the court ended up making decisions the politicians could not make.

CUBA from page 1

But on June 4, Cuba put delivery on those contracts in doubt. Because of heavy flooding that cut road and rail links to ports, Cuba stopped shipment on all sugar contracts for 45 days.

Mr. Jorge speculates that the Cuban government is gambling it can renege on the contracts, signed when sugar prices were lower than they are today, and earn a bit more by selling the sugar on the spot market. But even so, Jorge estimates oil purchases this year will fall to four to five million tons – a third of what the country used to consume.

'Cuba faces a catastrophic year.... It may lead to the paralysis of the economy before the year's end.'

– Former Cuban economic official

Andrew Zimbalist, a Cuba specialist at Smith College in Northhampton, Mass., disagrees. He forecasts that rising domestic oil production, plus more tourism revenue, nickel exports, and more bilateral trade agreements for Cuba's pharmaceutical, citrus, tobacco, and seafood products, will allow the country to scrape by. "The situation is desperate, but it will stabilize by the end of the year," he says.

Wayne Smith, just back from Havana, says, "There is an economic crisis. But there is no sense of imminent collapse." Mr. Smith, director of the Cuba Program at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Baltimore, adds, "Cuba will muddle through, making adjustments all the while denying that it's making them. What you will see in three or four years will be very different – a mixed economy – and it will be emerging from its present situation."

Some see the latest economic blow as a catalyst for political change. "Historically, sugar industry problems have brought changes in Cuban attitudes and mentality," says Teo Babun Jr., president of an investment and consulting firm in Miami. "And this tends to produce political changes. I'm not saying there will be an overthrow of the government. But Cuba will be forced to make changes."

Cuba wants the US trade embargo lifted. Since President Clinton took office, the tone of comments by Cuban officials has been conciliatory. Last week, Cuban officials reiterated their willingness to negotiate payment of US properties confiscated in Cuba in the early 1960s.

But President Clinton won votes in the traditionally Republican Cuban-American community by backing a law passed last year tightening the embargo. State Department officials say change is not likely until Cuba agrees to free, multiparty elections and human rights monitoring.

To get Washington to ease the embargo enough to allow US tourists to visit Cuba and spend money, Mr. Babun predicts a series of moves by Mr. Castro could "generate popular support from the US people to counterbalance Cuban conservatives in the US."

In the coming months, Babun predicts Castro will turn over one of the many hats he wears to another high official, as an indication that control is passing to others. If that produces no US response, Babun says, Castro could announce free elections to take place some years from now or accept human rights monitoring by the United Nations.

"If Castro flew to New York ... and appealed to the American people to at least sit down and talk, that could neutralize the influence of Cuban conservatives," Babun says.

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both here and nationally, will leave a city that is socially and fiscally sounder than it was when his populist appeal captured City Hall in 1983. But it is also a city that faces tough economic challenges as revenues decline and deeper budget cuts loom. Racial tensions in Boston's neighborhoods, though much subdued during the Flynn years, can still flare, as recent disturbances at the mayor's alma mater, South Boston High, showed.

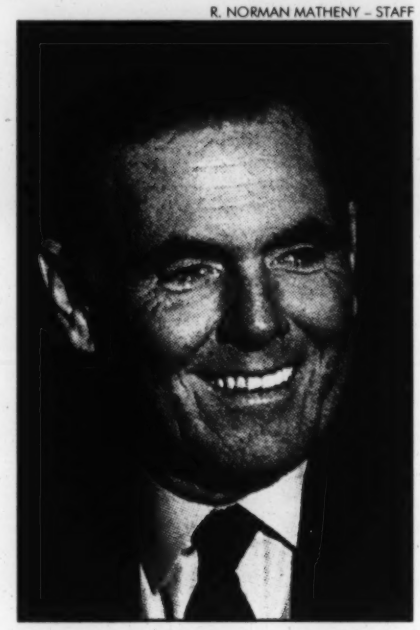
Flynn is a politician cut from a classic Boston pattern: He's proudly Irish-American – brought up in the city's preeminent Irish neighborhood by parents who struggled to get by – and spent part of his early political life defending that "turf" against federally mandated busing to integrate local schools. But as an at-large city councilman and then as mayor, Flynn's political profile lost its ethnic edges. He says his greatest achievement has been "bringing the city together."

"I've seen the devastation in the past of a city polarized," the mayor told Monitor reporters. "We've made tremendous progress, connecting neighborhood to neighborhood and the neighborhoods to downtown."

Many observers of Boston's political scene agree that the mayor's personal, hand-shaking, ball-playing approach to all the city's people has quieted racial tensions. "He's been a great healer," says Lawrence DiCara, an attorney who once ran against Flynn for mayor.

Others are more guarded in their praise. "What he has done is more fairly distribute the city's wealth, spending equally on parks and facilities in every neighborhood," says Boyce Slayman, head of the Massachusetts Council of Human Services Providers and a prominent figure in the black community. Mr. Slayman argues, however, that the mayor could have developed programs designed to bring the city's ethnic communities into contact and help people "celebrate each other's cultures," not just their own. The relative racial harmony during Flynn's tenure may have been tied more to a vibrant economy than to any "real understanding of each other" among the city's people, he says.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



RAY FLYNN: *Boston mayor says his greatest achievement has been 'bringing the city together.'*

The local economy boomed during Flynn's first term and part of the second. But the mayor also took a direct hand in imposing financial discipline, particularly during the recent economic contraction. "This fiscal year, I submitted another balanced budget – that makes nine consecutive years," Flynn says. He ended eight fiscal years with operating surpluses. Before Flynn, city government had regularly run deficits.

The mayor's success in keeping the city solvent is "an important achievement in this state at this time," says Samuel Tyler, who directs the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, an independent agency. He adds, however, that the two revenue sources that account for nearly 72 percent of Boston's income – state aid and property tax receipts – are in decline. Moreover, the city has exhausted the financial reserves that helped Flynn navigate the last few years.

Flynn has pushed for a 1 percent increase in the sales tax that would go to cities, but the state legislature wasn't interested. Still, the mayor insists on the need for a greater "appreciation and understanding of the unique role Boston plays in the economic health of the whole New England region."

That battle, however, will belong to the next mayor – if he or she is willing, as Flynn puts it, to persistently go to the state capitol and "kick those doors in if you have to."

Increasingly, the man who claims to know every playground in the city – "and I'll tell you where the slide is broken" – will have to turn toward his new assignment. Flynn says he is confident his confirmation hearings will be wrapped up in time to avoid throwing Boston's electoral calendar out of kilter. The queue of candidates to succeed him is growing.

There is a note of weariness in his voice when the mayor talks about having done his job "seven days a week, for 17 hours a day, every week." He says, "It's time for someone else to do it."

But the Flynn fire returns when he is asked what may lie ahead, politically, after the Vatican ambassadorship. "You're going to be writing about me for another 40 years," he says with a laugh. "I love elected office. I love the challenge of campaigning."

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new design will cost an estimated $16 billion and aims to put four astronauts in orbit by 2001. The White House claims that the revamped plan will save $4 billion over five years, mainly through the early retirement of thousands of NASA employees.

But the details of the plan are vague, leaving critics unconvinced that it will result in genuine savings. "Waste in space," snorts Rep. Caroline Maloney (D) of New York. "A black hole for taxpayers' money," says Rep. Tim Roemer (D) of Indiana. "A redesigned piece of space junk," chips in Rep. Tim Penny (D) of Minnesota.

Supporters of the project reply that, though it did not satisfy critics, the redesign may boost support for the space station in Congress. "Our guess is that the president's commitment, along with the realignment of NASA's bureaucracy, will be sufficient to give us a majority on the space station," says Rep. George Brown (D) of California, chairman of the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee.

Space station backers have mounted a lobbying effort that, says Rep. Dick Zimmer (R) of New Jersey, is going "hot and heavy." Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas, and Rockwell International – the three prime contractors – each employ dozens of lobbying firms and carry weight on Capitol Hill because of their campaign contributions. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, during the 1991-92 election cycle, Boeing gave $336,100 to congressional candidates; McDonnell Douglas, $263,050; and Rockwell, $340,164.

The biggest weapon supporters of the space station have is that – unlike the Texas-based super collider – this project brings thousands of jobs to 39 states, the biggest beneficiaries being Texas, California, Florida, and Alabama.

"There's not a member in Congress who hasn't been lobbied by someone in their district who has a little piece of the project," says Rep. Christopher Shays (D) of Connecticut. "I've had other members from my state lobby me because they have a $1 million piece of it in their districts."

In the battle over the space station, self-styled "pork busters" are clearly outmatched. Their only hope is that deficit-cutting fervor whipped up last year by Ross Perot will carry the day. But they aren't overly optimistic.

"There's no constituency in Congress for deficit reduction," says Representative Roemer. "Members find it easier to please lobbyists or constituents than to cast difficult, deficit-reduction votes."

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BOSTON
The Flynn Years

- **Today:** Education
- **Thursday:** Housing
- **Friday:** Police
- **Monday:** Neighborhoods

Integration of the school system has been a litmus test for the mayor's success in easing often-strained racial and ethnic tensions in the city.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

SOUTH BOSTON HIGH: *Mayor Flynn, here with Headmistress Lorraine Hamilton, was present for resumption of classes after a May racial brawl.*

Flynn Wins Mixed Reviews on Education

By Elizabeth Ross
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON

ON a typical weekday morning in South Boston, school buses roar up the hill on G Street and stop next to a brick school building. Groups of students of all ethnic backgrounds, toting book bags and backpacks, emerge from the buses and walk toward the doors of South Boston High School.

Here at "Southie" High, students are bused into this predominantly white Irish neighborhood from different parts of the city. In recent weeks, the school has been the focus of national media attention after groups of black and white students threw rocks and bottles at one another in a racial brawl. The incident brought to mind an ugly period in Boston's history when the same South Boston neighborhood was the center of racial turmoil during court-ordered busing in the 1970s.

"It's a disgrace what happened. But I think it was a wake-up call," says South Boston neighborhood activist Ed Kennedy. "I think a lot of good will comes from this."

Indeed, now that things have quieted down, city leaders, school officials, and parents have time to reflect on some of the challenges facing this city's public education system.

Boston schools – like urban schools around the country – have their share of problems: high dropout rates, low test scores, violence, and a School Committee that is faulted for being disorganized and ineffective.

During his 9-1/2 years in City Hall, Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn has tried to address these issues, but has had limited success.

City leaders and political observers, nevertheless, credit Mr. Flynn with maintaining racial harmony in schools and neighborhoods, particularly in the aftermath of last month's melee in South Boston.

In the days following the incident, Flynn – a graduate of South Boston High himself – spent long hours meeting with school officials, neighborhood activists, and young people. In the end, high school students there resumed classes peacefully, without further incident.

But Flynn has not been as successful in other efforts regarding the city's schools. One of the mayor's most closely watched initiatives has been his new seven-member appointed School Committee. He created the appointed board to gain control over the education system and to end the ineffectiveness of the former politically influenced 13-member elected board.

Though it was a controversial idea when proposed, Flynn won Boston City Council and state legislative approval for the appointed committee in 1991.

But parents and community activists complained that the new mayor-appointed board was undemocratic. And today, observers agree that the idea never worked out the way it was envisioned. With blurred lines of accountability, critics say the system is as disorganized and ineffective as ever.

"It has not been a smooth operation at all," says Joseph Slavet, a senior associate at the McCormack Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. "It has been fraught with difficulties."

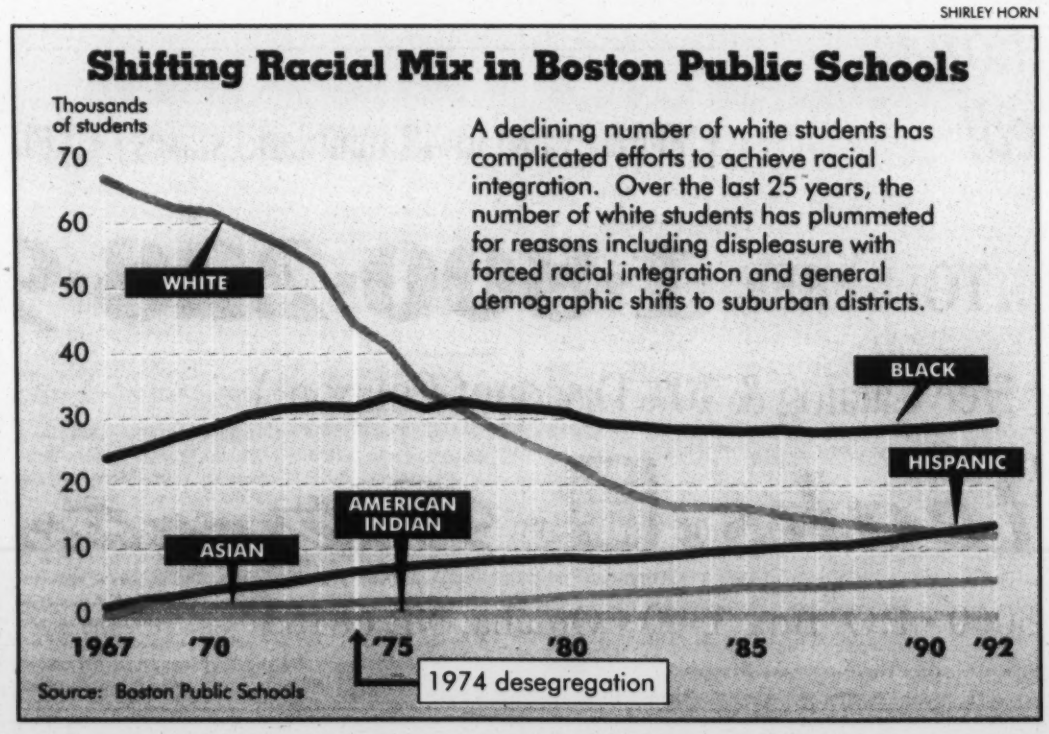
School Superintendent Lois Harrison-Jones, who took on her position almost two years ago, notes tensions between City Hall and the School Department over the appointed system.

"I don't think there had been any preparation for the change, and everybody had their own version of what to expect, which ended with nobody being happy," she says.

"Hopefully, we have learned something now, and perhaps we can do something different for the next administration," she adds.

Although some have faulted Dr. Harrison-Jones for initiating reforms too slowly, city leaders point fingers at Flynn for being too critical of her efforts. Chosen by the former elected school committee, Harrison-Jones came to Boston as the mayor was organizing the new appointed School Committee.

SHIRLEY HORN



At-Large City Councilor John Nucci notes that Flynn, like those who came before him at City Hall, has had little success in tackling the Boston public education system.

"I think the administration always tried to separate itself from the School Committee and School Department and never really became very involved," says Mr. Nucci, who also formerly served as president of the Boston School Committee. "That's not a trait that has been unique to the Flynn administration. That's what has historically happened between mayors and the School Department."

Flynn's closely watched appointed School Committee has been called 'undemocratic,' 'disorganized,' and 'ineffective' by critics, but others credit it for being nonpolitical.

Although Flynn acknowledges that the transition to an appointed School Committee has not been easy, he says the move helped take politics out of public education.

"There is nobody on the School Committee now that is running for political office," the mayor said in an interview with the Monitor. "Their only interest now is the education of the children. And that was a historic step forward, [but] not perfect. There was a lot of institutional opposition to that and there still is."

The mayor explains that the new school board has been able to make tough decisions and stand up to unions and the city's educational bureaucracy, something that an elected board would not easily do.

City leaders also cite the makeup of Boston's student population. After Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity ordered that Boston schools be desegregated in 1974, many white Boston families fled to the suburbs.

Today, the student population is largely minority. With a total of 59,146 students, the racial breakdown in Boston schools is now 48 percent black, 23 percent Hispanic, 9 percent Asian, 20 percent white, and 0.41 percent American Indian. And with the exception of Boston's three special exam-entry schools, approximately 65 percent to 70 percent of Boston public-school students live in public housing, according to Flynn.

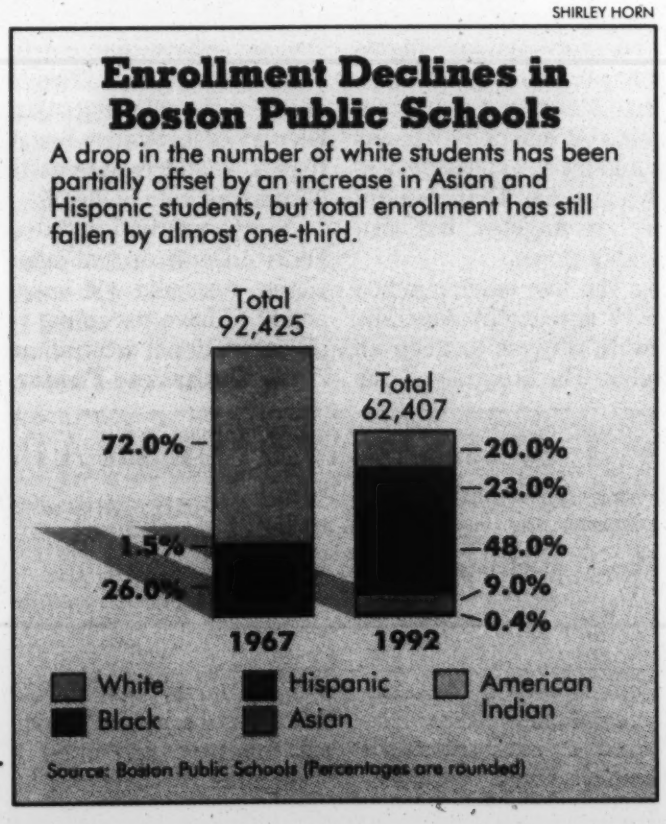
"How do kids in lower-income households – with the large proportion of them coming from single-parent families – learn? What is the secret of their learning and teaching? It is very elusive. We don't know a lot about this," Mr. Slavet says.

Despite the school system's problems, education leaders here are quick to point to progress they have made. Harrison-Jones says she is working on several reforms: decentralizing the system to give more authority to schools, incorporating a new multicultural curriculum, making improvements in vocational education, creating a new citywide chorus and orchestra, and implementing a comprehensive safety plan for the schools, among other things.

In addition, Harrison-Jones says she has brought the School Department back to fiscal stability.

Faced with a $20 million overrun in the School Department's budget last year, she ended the fiscal year with a $38,000 surplus, she says.

SHIRLEY HORN



NATIONAL

Senate Bill Dims Prospects For Public Funding of Campaigns

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PROPONENTS of public funding for congressional campaigns have just seen their task get more difficult.

Legislation to reform campaign finance passed last week by the Senate does provide for some public funding in campaigns. But to end a three-week filibuster that threatened to kill the bill altogether, Democrats had to bargain away most of the public money, which was aimed at "leveling the playing field" for underfunded challengers and reducing the role of special interests in funding candidates.

That takes the onus off the House to pass a bill providing for public financing, because members know the Senate would not buy it in a final conference on the bill. Most House Republicans and Southern Democrats oppose public financing of campaigns, calling it "food stamps for politicians." Combined, they can sink legislation.

"The House was always the more difficult body" on public money in campaigns, says Ellen Miller, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), which tracks the flow of campaign money. "Given the Senate's cave [in] on public financing, it's gone."

Common Cause, another group that favors public financing of campaigns, put a positive spin on the just-passed Senate bill. Even though the "essential element" of public financing was removed, the group said, it contained other praiseworthy reforms, such as a ban on donations from special-interest political-action committees (PACs) and a provision for discount advertising for candidates who agree to limit spending.

If the PAC ban is found unconstitutional as an infringement of free speech, as is expected, the bill contains a backup provision to cut the limit on PAC contributions from $5,000 to $1,000. Common Cause says that if such a limit had been in place in the last election, about two-thirds of PAC contributions to Senate incumbents would have been eliminated.

"Even though they took out public financing, we felt this bill was strong enough to support," says Mike Mawby, a lobbyist for Common Cause. "We knew the choice was either going with this legislation or nothing."

Other public-financing advocates are less charitable. "There is an argument for incrementalism, in not trying to do too much too fast," says Joan Claybrook, president of Public Citizen. "But this bill [provides] very little improvement. And I'm fearful that it's unconstitutional."

A Democratic aide working on the House bill says that, with public trust in Congress at a low, the best opportunity for serious reform is being lost. The Senate-passed bill means "we're left with white men raising money from white men," says the aide. "If PACs are banned, [members] will just look harder for large individual contributions. It's an elitist formulation that excludes people of color and other minorities."

House Speaker Thomas Foley (D) of Washington echoes these views, albeit in less-colorful language. He argues that PAC donations are preferable to large individual contributions because reporting rules make the PACs easier to track.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SENATE BILL FOR CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

■ **Spending Limits.** For combined primary and general elections, they vary from $2 million to $8.25 million, depending on state's population. If limits had been in place in 1992 elections, Senate incumbents would have spent almost one-third, or $37 million, less. Challengers' spending would have been cut by under $1 million.

■ **Resources.** Candidates who agree to spending limits would get cut-rate television advertisements and mailings. If opponent overspends limit, candidate would receive communications vouchers.

■ **Soft Money.** Such donations to party organizations, which have had no limits, would be banned. In 1991-92 election cycle, soft money donations totaled $80 million.

■ **PACs.** Contributions from political action committees, which represent special interests, would be banned. If this is found unconstitutional as is expected, PAC contributions would be cut from $5,000 to $1,000; each senator could accept up to 20 percent of spending limit in PAC money.

■ **Lobbyists.** Bans them from contributing funds to those they lobby, and from lobbying those they have contributed to in past 12 months.

■ **Bundling.** Practice of gathering together individual checks and sending them to candidates would be banned.

■ **Franked Mail.** Incumbents banned from mass mailings in election year.

In another sign that public financing is likely doomed in the House, Rep. Mike Synar, a liberal Democrat from Oklahoma, joined with a bipartisan group of House colleagues Friday in introducing alternative campaign-finance legislation. The bill contains no public financing and no spending limits. Instead, it lowers the limit on contributions from individuals to $100, down from $500, and from $5,000 to $1,000 for PACs.

In contrast, President Clinton's bill, which the House Democratic leadership supports, would provide public funding to cover one-third of a House candidate's costs if the contender agrees to limit spending to $600,000. The other two-thirds of financing would be divided evenly between PAC money and individual donations.

Mr. Clinton's bill would pay for public financing by taxing campaign contributions at the highest corporate rate if a candidate did not agree to spending limits. Clinton also proposes to raise revenue by removing the tax deductability of lobbyists' expenses.

The Senate bill bans lobbyists from making donations to candidates and from lobbying members they've contributed to within the past 12 months. But advocates of campaign reform argue that this is less significant than meets the eye. According to the CRP, registered lobbyists account for only 1.7 percent of total contributions to congressional candidates.

New York City Counts the Cost Of Pure Water

By Lucia Mouat
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

SPILLING down from the Catskill Mountains through an intricate system of aqueducts and reservoirs, the Big Apple's drinking water has long rated top marks for taste and quality.

Yet keeping the quality high is evolving into a major challenge for New York City. Two-thirds of the 2,000-square-mile watershed area north of the city is privately owned. Development pressures are strong. Some counties threaten lawsuits.

The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) wants New York to build a large, expensive water-filtration plant.

New York already is slated to build one plant in the Bronx to filter about 10 percent of the city's drinking water, which comes from the densely populated Croton watershed area. The EPA-proposed second plant to cover the other 90 percent would cost at least $6 billion to build and $300 million to maintain. Most major cities have such filtration systems. San Francisco recently decided to build one, though its drinking water comes from Yosemite National Park.

New York City officials, supported by environmentalists, regional planners, and business interests, are fighting the demand.

Water rates could soar

Officials say the cost would more than double already-high home water rates. They could better attack the problem more cheaply through tighter land-use rules and land purchases. They cite the recent experience of Milwaukee – where microbes that scientists associate with public health problems survived the city's filtration system – as proof that filtering is no magic answer. Yet developers, the city says, would point to the plant as an easy excuse for doing whatever they want in the watershed area.

So far, the EPA is listening. In return for winning a one-year waiver on building the new plant, New York City environmental officials are scrambling to meet 60 stringent conditions set by the agency. Carrying very specific deadlines, they range from reporting requirements to land acquisitions. The city hopes to win a second EPA reprieve by the end of this year. "We're doing as much as we can within budget and personnel constraints," says Ian Michaels, spokesman for the city's Department of Environmental Protection.

Environmentalists, however, are concerned that the city will miss a June 30 deadline set by the EPA to start the process of buying $15 million worth of watershed land. "They haven't bought or secured an option on any land," says David Gordon, a lawyer with the Hudson Riverkeeper Fund.

The EPA is likely to wait until the end of the year to assess New York's progress. Yet city officials were not cheered when a blue-ribbon panel of experts tapped by the EPA strongly recommended just two months ago in a report that New York be required to filter water from its Catskill/Delaware supply system.

Environmental measures

Mr. Gordon credits the city for making a major effort to preserve the watershed. The city is updating its 1953 watershed-protection rules and has filed some 25 lawsuits against polluters for violation of federal clean-water laws. Most of those charged are sewage-treatment-plant operators. The city has also begun new cooperative efforts to work with area farmers and the two-year-old Coalition of Watershed Towns.

"The city has been doing a lot to try to figure out how to play a friendly and constructive role in the watershed," says John Feingold, director of the New York City watershed program for the civic, nonprofit Regional Plan Association.

Yet Gordon's Hudson Riverkeeper Fund wants the Big Apple to move faster and favors tougher federal and state regulation. "We really need the federal government to come out in favor of watershed protection and land-use control," he says.

"In the major portion of the [watershed] system, the water is still very clean ... and it's not too late to save it," says Peter Bower, an environmental scientist at Barnard College who terms New York's water a "crown jewel." State and city pollution laws need to be revamped and enforced, he says. Particularly needed, in his view, are programs to upgrade or relocate sewage-treatment plants and to improve farming practices so nutrients such as phosphorous are kept out of watershed areas. "That's what's causing the big problem," Mr. Bower says.

Women Get Fewer Job Benefits

By David R. Francis
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

WOMEN, on average, are paid less than men in the United States. They also are less likely to be covered by such company benefits as pensions, health insurance, and disability.

The wage gap is well-known to economists. Females earn about 66 percent of the average male salary. About half this gap can be explained by differences in observable characteristics. For instance, the average level of education and work experience of women is less than that of men. The other half could be the result of discrimination and unknown factors, economists say.

Now Janet Currie, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has found that women also do more poorly in benefits, even when such characteristics as age, education, marital status, and the number of children are taken into account.

When wage levels are taken into account, the gender gaps in pension and health coverage disappear.

In a National Bureau of Economic Research paper, however, Ms. Currie finds that when wage levels are taken into account, the gender gaps in pension and health coverage disappear.

"This finding," she notes, "suggests that gender gaps in benefits coverage are associated primarily with the fact that women earn low wages." Women tend to work in predominantly "female" jobs, while men work in "male" jobs. Her findings are consistent with a hypothesis that wages and benefits in female jobs are depressed because of the crowding of women into these areas. Women may prefer these jobs, or may be discouraged or prevented from taking male jobs.

But the benefits gap does not appear to be a separate phenomenon from the fact that women work in places where they are paid less. Thus the gap is apparently not a matter of employers discriminating against women directly in giving benefits, Currie suggests.

In one benefits area, sick leave, women are 10 percent more likely to be covered than men.

Nowadays, nonwage compensation accounts for between 30 to 40 percent of labor costs. The benefits gender gap plus the wage gap can make women cheaper labor.

Moreover, gender gaps in benefits coverage can have significant effects. High poverty rates among elderly women have been linked to lack of pension coverage. Many female heads of a family stay on welfare because they cannot find jobs with adequate health-insurance coverage.

In her paper, Currie uses a survey of employee benefits conducted with the 1988 Current Population Survey of the Census Bureau to investigate gender differences.

Currie finds that married women, if they are covered by a health plan, are only half as likely as married men to have a plan which covers their spouse and children. This could reflect choices made by women themselves, often because they do not want to duplicate their husband's coverage.

Sixty-seven percent of married women report that their employer pays for some or all of their health plan, while for married men it is 85 percent. But, Currie notes, 30 percent of married women do not know whether the employer pays or not, compared with 12 percent of married men. Hence, the difference in reported generosity may be an artifact of the missing data.

Australia, US End Airline Dispute – for Now

SYDNEY

THE anticipated dogfight over the Pacific never got past the gunning of engines. The Australian government and United States carrier Northwest Airlines resolved their differences June 17 over a contentious North Pacific route.

In October 1991, Northwest was given permission to fly a thrice-weekly schedule from New York to Sydney via Osaka, Japan. As part of the agreement with Australia's Department of Transportation and Communications, Northwest had to agree that at least 50 percent of its passengers would originate in New York. Northwest said the rule violated the bilateral air-travel agreement between the two countries and that it had signed under protest.

Problems arose in January when the Australian government informed Northwest that, because it breached the agreement, it would be pulled back to two flights a week as of June 30. Northwest was carrying more Osaka-Sydney passengers than allowed, the government said. Northwest replied that despite its stand that the ruling was illegal, it had been trying to meet the conditions in good faith.

The war of words then became a tit-for-tat battle. The US government said if the Australians canceled the one Northwest flight, it would cancel three out of 10 weekly nonstop Qantas flights from Sydney to Los Angeles. Qantas protested, saying it was an innocent party. At one point, Qantas said it would try to bypass the ruling by flying to San Francisco instead of Los Angeles, but that idea was shot down.

Finally, the two sides reached the June 17 agreement. Australia will allow Northwest to keep all three flights. The 50-percent rule still stands, but there will be no move to enforce it and the government has given Northwest a six-month extension in which to abide by the conditions, after which there will be a review. The agreement allows Northwest to move the origin of the flight to Detroit, where the carrier provides more service. The US government is allowing Qantas to keep all of its Sydney-Los Angeles flights. It still maintains that the 50-percent rule is illegal.

Northwest has withdrawn its Federal Court appeal against the ruling. Australia will suspend its action to have the ruling referred to international arbitration.

– Catherine Foster, staff

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ECONOMY

YOSHIKAZU TSUNO/AFP/FILE

TOKYO: *A money dealer calls in a buying order at the Foreign Exchange Market. Japan's trade surplus was $136 billion at the end of March and is expected to rise. The US has helped push up the yen to reduce the imbalance.*

Japan, in Political Limbo at Home, Faces Criticism Over Trade at G-7

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

AMID current political turmoil, Japan is bracing for criticism at the summit of the top seven industrialized nations in Tokyo next month.

Clinton officials have blamed Japan for slowing down world economic growth with its record-high trade surplus. France has accused it of being the lead violator of international trade rules. Such finger-pointing is unusual just before the yearly summit of G-7 nations, which includes Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States.

Criticism may be kept to a minimum since Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa became a lame-duck leader last Friday. The ruling Liberal Democratic Party lost a no-confidence vote in the lower house, ending its 38-year majority rule. About 15 percent of the LDP members defected, and an election is set for July 18.

The political limbo has pushed down the value of the yen by about 4 percent, and the Tokyo Stock Exchange's Nikkei Index by about 3 percent. But by the time of the summit, the yen may have resumed its climb in value that began earlier this year under US pressure to reduce the bilateral trade imbalance.

"The adverse effect on the Japanese economy of political uncertainties should be minimal," says Salomon Brothers' economist Robert Feldman in Tokyo. The economy, after a two-year recession, grew an annualized 2.3 percent in the first quarter, he notes.

"It is vitally important that Japan exert leadership to ensure that the Tokyo summit does not generate into another shouting match," stated an editorial in the Japanese business daily, Nikkei. But persistently high unemployment in Europe and the US has begun to wear down the cohesion of the G-7. Among the world's top 24 industrialized nations, average real growth in 1993 will likely be a mere 1.3 percent, estimates the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Such domestic pressures make it harder for the G-7 nations to harmonize economic policies and tackle global problems, such as aid to Russia.

Japan, which has relatively low joblessness despite its current recession, is seen by US leaders as peculiar in its economic approach. "While we both have market economies, we pursue somewhat different forms of capitalism," says US Ambassador Michael Armacost. At a meeting last month of finance ministers from industrialized nations, US Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen took Japan to task for not opening its markets more to foreign goods and services. "These [trade] surpluses are a global problem," Mr. Bentsen said. "They are hurting world growth."

Japan's trade surplus stood at $136 billion in the year ending March 31, and is expected to rise. Last year, Japan's surplus with the US was about $50 billion. Since February, the Clinton administration has helped push up the value of the yen to reduce the trade imbalance. Japan has refuted criticism that its trade surplus is a problem, saying it cannot do much more to reduce it. The US has pressed Tokyo into more government spending to boost domestic demand, but Japanese finance officials say that such spending has reached the limit of available tax revenues.

The US also has put pressure on Japan to devise a new agenda for their bilateral trade disputes by the time of the summit from July 7 to 9. In talks so far, the two sides have shown little agreement on an agenda, especially over a Clinton proposal that Japan limit its trade surplus to less than 2 percent of its gross national product. In separate talks, the US has set a deadline of June 30 for Japan to change the bidding system for its public works or face possible economic sanctions.

The last time Japan came under attack at a G-7 summit was 1986, when the US proposed a system to monitor each nation's trade surplus. At that time, Germany also ran a surplus. Now Japan stands alone. The G-7 leaders are expected to set a new deadline for the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of trade talks. The US has criticized Japan for not making enough compromises.

As a sign of the world economic slowdown, there will be less pomp and paperwork at the summit than in the past. To lower costs, the number of ceremonies and documents will be reduced and spouses of the world leaders will not be invited.

US Companies Work Toward Standard for High-Definition TV

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

HUNDREDS of manufacturing, high technology, and television officials will gather in video conference centers in about 50 United States cities July 29. At issue during the six-hour, live satellite teleconference will be US industry and HDTV – high-definition television.

The video conference is believed to be the first of its kind ever held in the US. The gathering could provide an "impetus" for the companies involved in HDTV to move from the current research stage toward manufacturing HDTV applications, says Samuel W. Webster Jr., president of the Center For Advanced Electronic Imaging. The center, based at the University of Texas at Dallas, represents companies and research groups engaged in electronic technologies. The video conference will explore such issues as broadcasting, medical technologies, computers, entertainment, and equipment, Mr. Webster says.

Late last month, a number of the major players involved in HDTV agreed to work together to develop a standardized system. The Federal Communications Commission will have to agree on a standard. If that occurs by late 1994, as expected, then actual production of a new range of electronic applications for broadcasting – from studio equipment to television sets – could be under way by the late 1990s. At stake for American industry is eventually hundreds of millions of dollars, experts such as Webster say. The groups that have agreed to work together include AT&T, David Sarnoff Research Center, General Instruments Corporation, Zenith Electronics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Philips Electronics of the Netherlands, and Thomson Electronics of France. In addition, scores of small- to medium-sized US companies, including cable television companies, would be affected by a common standard agreement.

SOME national broadcasting groups that would be affected immediately by a move toward HDTV are not yet embracing the new partnership. The National Association of Broadcasters, for example, calls the new agreement "vague on technical details that are vital to broadcasters." Proponents insist HDTV will revolutionize broadcasting by providing sharper pictures than are possible under existing technologies. They say the clarity will be as sharp as that seen on movie screens.

US, European, and Japanese firms all have been racing to get out front on HDTV. But the countries' approaches have been quite distinct. Japanese (and some European) companies have been leaning toward using an analog delivery system; US companies favor a digital system. Manufacturers would require a standardized system to justify the high costs involved in any new HDTV production process.

The new technology will change the way Americans receive and use television, Webster says. Conventional broadcasting stations and the big four TV networks (CBS, ABC, NBC, and Fox) also could be immediately affected, he says, since digital HDTV transmission would most likely be sent via cable systems rather than on open airwaves. Adding new technological equipment at local broadcast stations could cost the stations well over $1 million and possibly up to $15 million or more, experts say.

Cable companies would enjoy new clout under HDTV. Television manufacturers would also stand to make money; initially, HDTV could add between $1,000 and $2,000 to the cost of a new set, although the price is expected to drop significantly after the first year. Some experts say that up to 100,000 new jobs could be created in the US from HDTV technologies. HDTV proponents hope to have their new system in place by the Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta in 1996.

Still, some analysts say that there are far too many imponderables to determine which companies will be economic winners. "We just don't know" how the entire HDTV process will play out in terms of the system selected and the companies that will become major manufacturers of new applications, says John Reidy, an analyst with Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Company.

PHOTOGRAPHY

WORKERS

Brazilian photographer Sebastião Salgado captures the struggle of world laborers and shows how the nature of their jobs has changed along with notions of productivity

'CUBA' (1988): *Sugar-cane cutters rest in a wary, tense silence. Salg*

'KUWAIT' (1991): *Sebastião Salgado took this photograph 30 days after the Gulf war ended, when workers were battling huge oil-well fires that were burning out of control.*

By Jody Kolodzey
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PHILADELPHIA

FOR Sebastião Salgado, hands are as expressive as faces, and the Brazilian-born photographer zooms in on them.

There are the gloved hands of shipyard workers in Brest, France, and the braceleted hands of canal workers in Rajasthan, India. There are hands wet with blood at a slaughterhouse in South Dakota and with oil on the burning fields of Kuwait. There are blowups of hands clenched behind the backs of men lined up at the payroll office of the SNCF Railroad Network in France, of hands playing dominoes during a break at the Kommunar automobile factory in Zaporozhye, Ukraine, and of hands rolling cigars in Havanna.

There are hands holding leaves, oars, wheels, shovels, and in one photograph, a gun.

In Dhanbar, Bihar, India, a woman's hand steadies a baby on the back of her husband as he pushes a cart home from the coal mine.

Hands are one of the recurring themes in "Workers," an exhibition of Salgado's photographs currently on view at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The exhibition is being billed as a celebration of manual labor, but it is a lot more than that. These are pictures of workers; not of work or of people working, but of workers – on the job, but also resting, eating, playing, fighting, dreaming. Work defines what they do, but it isn't all that they do.

Salgado subtitled the exhibition "An Archaeology of the Industrial Age" because he wanted to show how the nature of work has changed along with concepts of production and efficiency. The 250 photographs in the exhibition are the fruits of a seven-year project that took Salgado to some 50 locations, mostly in the third world.

The exhibition is arranged to reflect a historical progression from the pre-industrial occupations of agriculture and fishing through such hybrid enterprises as textiles and meatpacking and then into the full-blown industrialization of the steel age.

Here, Salgado's camera pauses amid the low-tech mechanization of a bicycle factory in Shanghai, then moves on to the mid-level technology of automobile manufacturing, and reaches a crescendo in the shipyards of Poland and France. From there, the camera's course is devolutionary, recording the detritus of all this industry: ship breakers in Bangladesh, undoing what is being done on the opposite wall, and firefighters in Kuwait undoing the damage of the Gulf war.

At times, the photographs evoke paintings – there are elements of Salvador Dali in a Gdansk shipyard, where the head of a man poking through a porthole in the foreground dwarfs the bodies of three co-workers in the background, all in the same plane of focus.

An image of a family of Brazilian cocoa pickers relaxing in a glade with their dog recalls Paul Gauguin. And there is a *trompe l'oeil* mastery to a photograph of a baptism in Tolyatti, Russia, where the faces of automobile workers merge eerily with the life-sized faces painted on a mural behind them.

It is striking how often workers blend with their environments. In one of the most beautiful ph
textile-processing
Kazakhstan, loose
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There is beauty
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Kawah Idjen, Ind
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'TEA PLANTATION, RW
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PHOTOS ©SEBASTIAO SALGADO/MAGNUM PHOTOS

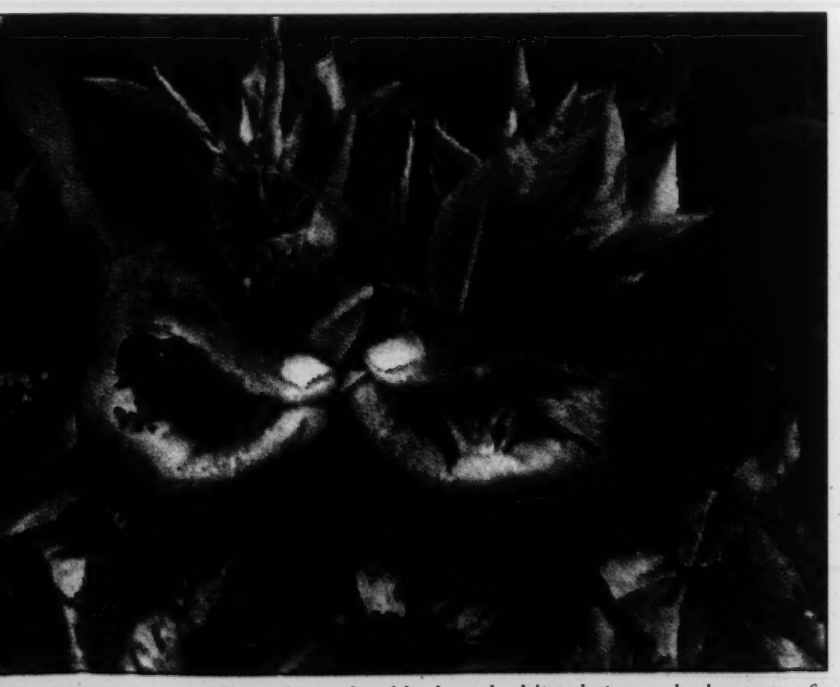
ce. Salgado writes of the workers in Cuba and Brazil as 'warriors' with the machete as their swords against the sugar cane.

iful photographs, taken at a cessing plant in Kustanai, , loosely wound bales of raw the swirls in a woman's skirt es among them.

beauty, but there is also dan- by a fern-covered slope at n, Indonesia, a worker hews sulfur from the crater of the shirt pulled over his head and face to protect him from the fumes.

what they do is dehumaniz- nd sometimes their own cul- the workers to animals. Sal- rves that in Serra Pelada, ook some of his most disturb- ing images, "men who work in the mud and dig for gold are called mud hogs, like pigs who work in dirt and slime." In the steel factories of France and Ukraine, Salgado found a worker called "the ratman: his job is to smell gas, to look for leaks beneath red-hot cauldrons. His job is to find the smell of death."

In Salgado's photographs, however, they are all too human, with a stalwart dignity that transcends the mud and the coal dust. Even for those who appear to be subsumed by their machines – shipyard welders in asbestos suits – the robotic façade is consistently broken by an eye or a smile.



ION, RWANDA' (1991): *Salgado prefers black-and-white photography because of and patterns it illuminates (shown in the wrinkles of skin on these hands).*

Some of the photographs are candid and journalistic, others are exercises in portraiture, showing the self-conscious pride and vulnerability of the workers.

The prints in the exhibition are several different sizes, enhancing the visual impact, and all of them are black and white, Salgado's preferred medium. The print quality is exquisite, the fine grain and hard contrast emphasizing texture and prompting the viewer to linger and look more closely. In this context, color would only be a distraction.

Salgado, who has won numerous awards for his work and was twice named "Photojournalist of the Year" by the International Center of Photography in New York, originally trained as an economist. In the catalog that accompanies the exhibition, he writes:

"The developed world produces only for those that consume – approximately one-fifth of all people. The remaining four-fifths, who could theoretically benefit from the surplus production, have no way of being consumers. They have transferred so many of their resources and wealth to the prosperous world that they have no way of achieving equality.

"So the planet remains divided, the first world in a crisis of excess, the third world in a crisis of need, and, at the end of the century, the second world – that built on socialism – in ruins."

Salgado has succeeded in chronicling this new, if precarious, order, and the older order that underlies it.

■ *"Workers" closes in Philadelphia on July 11. It then travels to Louisville, Ky.; Iowa City, Ioiva; Dallas; and in 1995, New York.*

'She Loves Me' Revival Evokes Longing For Shows of Bygone Eras

By Frank Scheck
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

BROADWAY musical revivals too often concentrate on the smash hits of the past, usually augmented either by the original stars (Yul Brynner in "The King and I") or film or television stars ("My Fair Lady" with Richard Chamberlain). The less popular shows, which are frequently more deserving of revival and reappraisal, tend to be overlooked.

Fortunately, however, the Roundabout has dusted off, polished up, and is now presenting a delightful and winning production of one of these, "She Loves Me." If the show's subtle charms are still an good indication of why it never reached spectacular success, this revival clarifies why the show has long been a favorite of musical-comedy lovers.

"She Loves Me" originally opened on Broadway 30 years ago, coming between "Fiorello" and "Fiddler on the Roof," the two mega-successes of its creators, Sheldon Harnick (lyrics) and Jerry Bock (music). The book is by Joe Masteroff ("Cabaret"), and the original production was directed by Hal Prince, but despite this impressive talent the musical had only a respectable run (302 performances).

Based on a Hungarian play from the 1930s, the story has also been told in two films, "The Shop Around the Corner" and "In the Good Old Summertime." It tells the story of two salesclerks in a Budapest perfume store, George (Boyd Gaines) and Amalia (Judy Kuhn), who squabble on the job but, who, unbeknownst to each other, are conducting a love affair through the mail.

When these literary paramours finally arrange a meeting, George becomes aware of the situation and leaves Amalia without informing her of his true identity. The romantic entanglements that ensue are complicated, but, needless to say, love triumphs.

The charm of the piece lies less with the gimmicky plot than with the warmth of the characters, who are beautifully realized by the ensemble cast.

Boyd Gaines brings a heretofore untapped charm to the role of George and in such numbers as the title song displays a genuine flair for physical comedy. Judy Kuhn is appealing as Amalia and delivers such songs as "Will He Like Me?" and "Vanilla Ice Cream" with a strong measure of plaintive emotion. Lee Wilkof, Brad Kane, and Sally Mayes provide plenty of laughs as the fellow shop workers, and Louis Zorich is moving as the store owner trying to cope with news of his wife's infidelity. Howard McGillin, in the role that won Jack Cassidy a Tony Award, brings a humorous malevolence to his role as a swinish Lothario. And Jonathan Freeman is a standout as an unctuous headwaiter.

Bock and Harnick's tuneful score didn't produce any standards, byt it is remarkably consistent in its quality. Masteroff's book keeps things moving along sprightly.

Scott Ellis, an actor who is forging an excellent career as a director of musical revivals, maintains a firm grasp on the subtle aspects of the work, and choreographer Rob Marshall provides comically knockabout staging when needed, particularly in the riotous "Twelve Days to Christmas" and "Romantic Atmosphere" numbers.

"She Loves Me" evokes longing for a bygone era, both in its milieu and in its nearly lost style of musical theater. The Roundabout production makes for an effortless time machine to get us there.

THEATER

SHE LOVES ME
Musical comedy revival by Roundabout Theatre Company. At Criterion Center Stage Right.

CAROL ROSEGG/MARTHA SWOPE ASSOCIATES

HUNGARIAN ROMANCE: *Amalia (Judy Kuhn) and George (Boyd Gaines) embrace in a scene from the musical.*

HABITAT

PHOTOS BY BETTY PRESS

PROTECTED: *This white rhinoceros mother and her calf are among more than 100 rhinos that roam safely in a well-guarded 17,000-acre wildlife preserve, part of the Solio Ranch in Kenya.*

Conservationists Rally Around the Rhino

Poachers after the coveted horns have greatly reduced rhinoceros herds in Africa, but new sanctuaries and international trade sanctions are slowing the slaughter

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SOLIO RANCH, KENYA

ON a rolling, grassy plain within sight of snow-capped Mount Kenya, whose jagged peaks are hidden in clouds, a baby white rhinoceros peers out from behind its mother's flank, then hides again, as our land rover pulls up.

But sensing no danger from the visitors, the baby comes into view again and starts nursing. A short drive away, a black rhino nibbles on some bushes.

Nearby, four white rhinos atop a small hill graze on grass that dances in the wind. They trot off, heads high, their prized horns piercing the air.

More than 100 rhinos live here on Solio Ranch, a 60,000-acre privately owned cattle ranch in central Kenya. Their 17,000-acre sanctuary in the middle of the ranch is surrounded by a seven-foot electric fence. The perimeter is patrolled by a Kenyan paramilitary unit. These are perhaps the best-protected rhinos in the world.

Courtland Parfet, a wealthy American who is now retired in Kenya, never planned to operate a rhino sanctuary. "It just happened," he said at his home in Nairobi. He had a lot of wild animals on his cattle ranch, and, he says, "you can't really ranch cattle with wild animals."

"My wife got the idea" of fencing off an area to be a game sanctuary, he says. It took 1-1/2 years to build the fence around the large area, which includes a swamp not suitable for ranching.

The Parfets introduced lions; there were already hyenas, jackals, and leopards. But the last rhino in the area died in about 1970. Then the Parfets found a poached rhino on the ranch. "We decided it was time to protect a few rhino," Mr. Parfet says.

Between 1970 and 1978, they introduced 22 black rhino, gathered from all around Kenya, which belong to the Kenyan government. White rhinos brought in from South Africa are the property of the Parfets.

The General Services Unit (GSU), a paramilitary government unit, has stationed guards near the ranch at government expense, since the black rhinos are government property.

Parfet says large-scale fencing, expensive as it is, holds the future for rhinos. "I'm a confirmed believer that to save the rhino you have to fence," he says.

Thanks to such private sanctuaries and stepped-up protection in game parks, the African rhino and the much rarer Asian species, though still heavily poached in Zimbabwe and some other countries, are making a slow – and expensive – comeback.

Numbers are increasing in several countries, including Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, India, and parts of Malaysia.

The rhinoceros population in Kenya, for example, has increased from around 340 in 1986 to about 420 today. Part of the increase may be improved counting, some experts say.

But worldwide, the number of rhinos has plummeted from about 70,000 in 1970 to an estimated 11,000 today, according to Esmond Bradley Martin. Appointed last year by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), Dr. Martin is special envoy for rhinoceros conservation.

Kenya alone had some 20,000 rhinos around 1970, says Robert Brett, a British rhino expert working for the Kenyan Wildlife Service (KWS). "More than half the rhinos poached in this country

were poached by Wildlife [Service] personnel," Mr. Brett alleges.

When Richard Leakey, a Kenyan, was appointed head of the KWS several years ago by Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, he sought and got government approval to make the KWS a semiprivate agency with power to raise its own revenues. One result is that ranger pay was trebled.

"We've got a staff that is much more committed to looking after their charges than they were before: well-paid, well-supervised, well-uniformed, well-fed," Dr. Leakey says. [It's their] esprit de corps that has made the difference."

Poaching by people living around game parks has also been a problem in many African countries.

Kenyan biologist Helen Gichohi says Western tourists want to come to see the rhino and other wildlife. "But when you are living in direct contact [with wild animals], it's not that easy [to value them]." She says some animals trample crops on farms surrounding game parks. Lions wander out of the preserve to kill cattle, she adds.

Winning support from local people to protect animals migrating outside the parks could be accomplished by allowing limited killing of game animals to benefit those people, says Ms. Gichohi, who works for the Wildlife Conservation Society, part of the New York Zoological Society. "Then they will look at wildlife as their own."

Meanwhile, dangers still abound for the rhino.

Chinese and Taiwanese demands for medicines using rhino powder are still strong, according to UNEP's Martin. Dealers can fetch up to $20,000 per pound retail for the horn of an Asian rhino.

African rhino horns, though considered less potent as a curative material, are also used in medicines in China and Taiwan. On the Arabian peninsula, the horns are traditionally used as dagger handles, particularly in Yemen, where they sell for $500 a pound.

In Zimbabwe, such demands, coupled with poor economic conditions, have reduced the number of rhinos from an estimated 2,000 in 1989 to fewer than 400 today, according to Martin.

Most of the poachers cross the border from neighboring Zambia, one of Africa's poorest nations, he says.

In 1977, international commercial trade in rhino products was banned by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, known as CITES. Zimbabwe and South Africa, however, want to have a legal trade in rhino horns and use the profits to help protect rhinos.

PROTEST: *To dramatize the need to stop the trade in horns that was decimating rhino herds, Kenya publicly burned poached horns in 1990.*

China, Yemen, Taiwan, and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) face sanctions if they fail to show improvement in curbing their role in rhino-horn trade, Izrev Topkov, secretary general of CITES, told the Monitor on a recent visit to Kenya. The main sanction under consideration, Mr. Topkov says, is "a total ban on trade of wildlife products" from those countries by CITES member countries.

But Holly Dublin, an ecologist with the Kenya branch of the World Wide Fund for Nature (which is known in the United States and Canada as the World Wildlife Fund), says such sanctions may simply push the trade underground.

The best answer is increased antipoaching efforts, as well as greater use of sanctuaries, she says. That costs a lot of money, Ms. Dublin notes.

"It's expensive to conserve the things we give value to," she says. "You pay for your thrills," Dublin says of the pleasure of observing rhinos in the wild.

At an upcoming meeting of countries with rhinos, countries that consume rhino horns, and wildlife organizations to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, June 28 to July 1, donors to conservation causes "are going to be asked to pay a very big bill" to help save rhinos, Dublin predicts.

African nations themselves can't afford good rhino protection, she says. "It's unrealistic to expect Africans, who can barely get food in their mouths, to pump [money] into rhino [protection programs]," Dublin says.

But UN envoy Martin says "things have improved tremendously in the past few months."

As a result of pressure from UNEP, including Martin's own negotiations with officials in countries that import rhino horns and pressure from the United States and some Western nations, key consumer nations say they are reforming, he says.

Yemen officials have agreed to ban internal trade in rhino horns and are turning to water buffalo horns as a substitute for dagger handles. Taiwan has banned rhino-horn imports and internal trade.

At the end of May, China, which last last year banned the import and export of all rhino horns, took another major step and banned the manufacture of all medicines containing rhino powder. By the end of the year, there will be a total ban in China on internal trade in medicines and any other products made of rhino horn.

But it is unclear how and to what extent the ban will be enforced. And China has a stockpile of more than eight tons of rhino horns. Experts are still concerned that continued domestic use of rhino powder in medicines would provide incentives for poachers.

Many reforms are mostly words so far. Now more action is needed, Martin says.

PRIZED HORN: *A tame black rhino at the Solio Ranch in Kenya displays his valuable tusks, worth $500 a pound for use as a dagger handle in Yemen.*

Wildlife Protection Gets a Tough Probe

By Robert M. Press

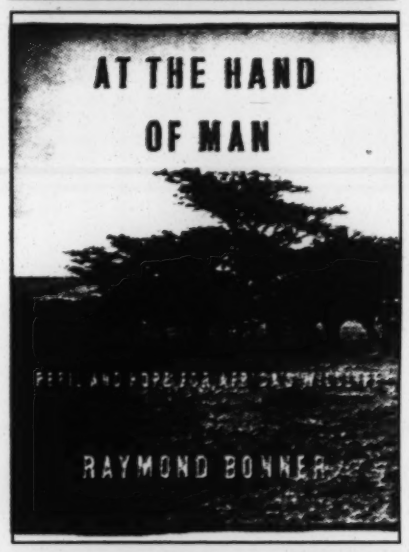
WHEN an investigative reporter like Raymond Bonner runs up against attempts by an organization or government to be secretive, the result is predictable.

A former New York Times correspondent, Bonner digs and digs until he has penetrated the facade of press releases and public statements to reveal what the organization intended to hide. He did that in a book on the United States and El Salvador, and in another on the Philippines. His current offering examines the methods of several wildlife conservation groups in Africa.

In "At the Hand of Man," Bonner asserts that most wildlife groups working in Africa have hired few African experts and that these same groups, as well as independent conservation experts, pay a lot of attention to the needs of animals and too little attention to the needs of Africans. An excess of elephants in a concentrated area, for example, not only destroys trees in a game park but also tramples crops on surrounding farms.

Bonner also alleges that two groups, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the African Wildlife Fund, used the issue of a total ban on ivory trade and the killing of elephants to increase their membership and to raise donations, despite strong arguments against such a ban from knowledgeable experts, including some within wildlife organizations.

BOOKS



AT THE HAND OF MAN: PERIL AND HOPE FOR AFRICA'S WILDLIFE
By Raymond Bonner
Alfred A. Knopf, 322 pp., $24

WWF efforts to be secretive about their links to a South African tobacco baron, about their anonymous major-donor lists, and about internal debates over the ban provided ripe targets for Bonner's probing.

While Bonner is strongly critical of WWF methods, he does not spend much time looking at any WWF successes. Neither does he examine other wildlife groups to see whether they, too, rode the ivory ban issue to raise money while doing little on the ground to help save elephants.

Bonner does describe some programs that appear to be saving wildlife, including ones that share tourism revenue with area villages and hire them to help spot poachers. He cites as examples the Kaokoveld in northwestern Namibia and the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Nyaminyami, Zimbabwe. But one wonders what Bonner might have found if he had probed these so-called successes as hard as he did the so-called failures.

Further inclusions, however, might have made a book that is probably already too long (except for students of wildlife and wildlife organizations) even longer. Yet the writing is lively, the quotes succinct, and the editing good.

Ironically, while calling for more attention to Africans and their needs, the book is primarily a white man's view of the alleged folly of white-led African wildlife conservation efforts. One wishes he had dwelt more on the efforts by Africans and others to sensibly preserve wildlife.

Yet if "At the Hand of Man" encourages greater support for conservation methods that help both animals and people, if it prompts the hiring of more African experts, if it forces wildlife groups to examine their ways and encourages donors to demand more open information on what such groups accomplish – and how they do it – then Bonner will have helped the cause of wildlife conservation in Africa.

■ *Robert M. Press is on the Monitor's staff in Nairobi, Africa.*

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ TUESDAY

The National Sports Awards *(NBC, 8-10 p.m.)*: Five towering figures in recent American sports history – Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Muhammad Ali, Arnold Palmer, Wilma Rudolph, and Ted Williams – are saluted in this special, taped last Sunday at Washington's historic Constitution Hall with an impressive complement of stars from show-business and sports in attendance. Those honored will just have come, in fact, from a White House reception, before the praise and reminiscence begins in this glittery production.

■ WEDNESDAY

Family Dog *(CBS, 8-9 p.m.)*: Before deciding to watch this series première, you probably should ask yourself if you (a) love dogs, (b) love cartoons, and (c) love Steven Spielberg enough to watch virtually anything he attaches his name to, even a show about the distinctly unremarkable adventures of the title character. The new animated program depicts life in a suburban household as seen from a canine perspective. This opener offers back-to-back episodes: The first one finds Family Dog (that's his name) innocently seeking a drink of water on a hot day, when the family decides to enter him in a dog show (guess whether the pooch buys the idea). In Episode 2, Family Dog ends up at a zoo facing fearsome creatures. Spielberg is credited as co-creator with Tim Burton and as executive producer with Burton and Dennis Klein.

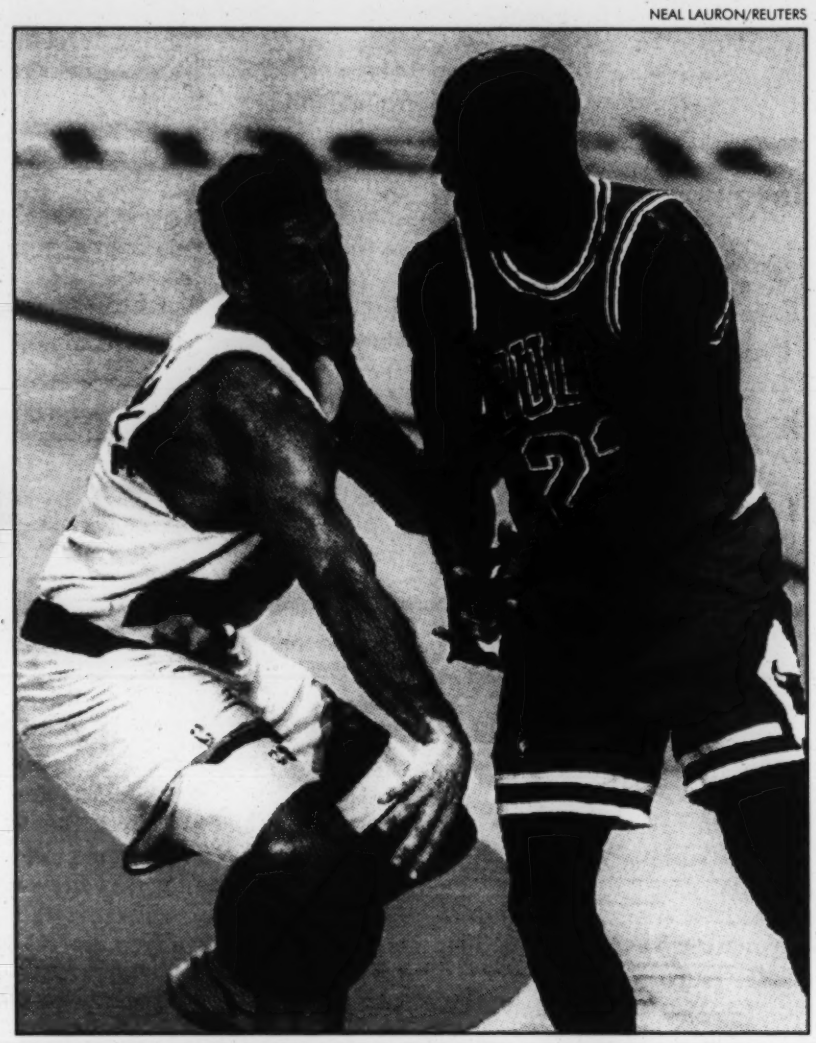
48 Hours *(CBS, 10-11 p.m.)*: One of the thornier issues of the day – sexual harassment – is examined in this news-magazine show. The troubling and ambiguous aspects of this major problem are looked at from several angles: When does annoying behavior become improper, oppressive, or even illegal? Can the charge of sexual harassment be used unfairly or vindictively? Dan Rather, Erin Moriarity, Phil Jones, and Scott Pelley are the reporters.

Please check local listings, especially for the PBS program.

Bulls' Jordan Makes His Mark Even Bigger

DOES anyone still wish to debate the identity of basketball's best player ever? Michael Jordan, the unquestioned Most Valuable Player of the National Basketball Association's just-ended championship series, is surely the people's choice at this juncture. Even those faithful to Magic Johnson, Larry Bird, Wilt Chamberlain, Bill Russell, et al. must have second thoughts after what Jordan has wrought this season.

NEAL LAURON/REUTERS



FINALS ACTION: *Phoenix Suns' Dan Majerle knocks the ball away from Bulls' Michael Jordan in Game 6 Sunday night. Chicago won, 99-98.*

SPORTS NOTEBOOK

First and foremost, he took the Chicago Bulls to a coveted "three-peat" – their third consecutive title. No NBA team has done that since the Boston Celtics won an incredible eight straight beginning in 1959.

Jordan confounded skeptics who figured he would either be too tired or too complacent after almost two solid years of nonstop basketball. He and Scottie Pippen ignored the fatigue forecast for them after playing for the Olympic "Dream Team" last summer. And they did so impressively, helping beat back the Phoenix Suns, who entered the playoffs with the league's best regular-season record.

Against Phoenix, Jordan enjoyed what to his competitive instincts must have been the ideal incentive: an opportunity to put his game alongside that of Charles Barkley, who ended Michael's two-year reign as the league's Most Valuable Player and called a Phoenix championship "destiny."

In the finals, won Sunday by Chicago 4 games to 2, Jordan was clearly the more unstoppable player. He broke loose with a 55-point effort in Game 4 and averaged 41 points in the series, the highest in finals history. Beyond the numbers, however, he caused the Suns to expend tremendous energy in trying to contain him, and even then he often was most effective whenever a key basket was needed – the mark of a great player.

His confidence at critical moments dates at least to his freshman year in college, when he sank a last-minute jump shot to give North Carolina a one-point victory over Georgetown in the national championship game. Today people joke that North Carolina coach Dean Smith was the only guy who ever held Jordan under 25 points. In three years at Chapel Hill, Jordan averaged just 17.7 points in Smith's system.

Thus his potential as a scorer hadn't been established when he turned pro nine years ago. He pushed the envelope immediately and this season won his seventh straight scoring title, with 32.6 points a game, to tie Chamberlain's record streak.

Jordan was only the third player chosen in the 1984 NBA draft. Houston and Portland elected to take bigger players – Hakeem Olajuwon and Sam Bowie, respectively – before him. The Bulls, of course, now have convincing proof that with the right 6 ft., 6 in. super talent, you can build a winner even with mostly ordinary players.

Beyond his offensive pyrotechnics, Jordan has established himself as one of the game's premier defenders, which enhances his stature as an all-around player. He may not be a match for Magic or Bird as a passer, but few can quibble with his contributions even in this area. And now he has done Bird and Magic one better, by helping his team string together three straight championships.

Janzen's golfing gem

Long John Daly turned in the most Paul Bunyanesque feat at this year's United States Open, reaching the 630-yard par-5 at the Baltusrol course in Springfield, N.J., in an amazing two shots – scoring a two-under-par eagle during one round. For tournament-long heroics, however, no one was a match for little-known Lee Janzen, who was the model of consistency in winning the coveted championship and only his third pro title. With rounds of 67, 67, 69, and 69, he tied Lee Trevino's 1968 Open feat of notching four sub-70 scores. His combined 272 equaled the tournament's best-ever total, posted by Jack Nicklaus in 1980 on the same layout.

– Ross Atkin

This Cable-TV Talent Works for Scale

BOSTON

THE most talked-about cable-TV show in Columbia, S.C., has no violence, no bad language, and very little action. But then again, the stars of the show don't wear any clothes.

Tropical fish seldom do.

Every day for 14 hours, cable subscribers in Columbia can watch a tropical-fish tank in the comfort of their own homes – no cleaning, feeding, or upkeep required. Last spring, Cable Vision Industry (CVI) decided to broadcast an aquarium to fill air time until they could launch an all-science-fiction channel. But when "Fish TV" went off the air last fall, viewer response was overwhelming.

"People were calling in saying their cat just loves it," Sharon McGee of CVI says. Viewers wrote in. Small children seemed to enjoy watching the tank, as did seniors.

When marketing manager Hal Schlenger came up with the idea for Fish TV, he was looking for "something we thought people might enjoy once or twice." But when viewers demanded its reinstatement, Mr. Schlenger wasn't too surprised: The idea had worked before. Early television weather channels used to pan goldfish bowls. His updated version just used a larger tank, exotic fish, and live corals.

TELEVISION

A pet store in West Columbia maintains two tanks for Fish TV, changing fish and coral to keep viewers interested. The star, a 55-gallon salt-water tank, has everything from Pacific blue tangs to shrimp to anemones.

Since the tank requires frequent cleaning (algae grows more quickly under the bright camera lights), a 29-gallon fresh-water tank serves as an understudy. The tanks are filmed at the cable channel's studio, but Crystal Reef Aquarium owner Ray Piazzola says there has been an increase in visitors to his store – some from out of state – hoping to see the celebrity fish.

Fish TV fan Mike Hawkins says that even though he owns an aquarium, he likes to see the different varieties of fish on television. "What you're getting," he says, "is a whole tank for the price of just the electric current to run your TV." To Mr. Hawkins, the channel is more than educational: "If we have a party, usually we'll have it on."

Because of viewer demand, Fish TV has now moved to another channel, sharing it with an arts program. It's on from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day. Music accompanies the broadcast (jazz, classical, or easy-listening), so many viewers leave the channel on for background sound as well as for the fish. At present, CVI plans to keep Fish TV on the air: "I don't think we'd dare move it now!" McGee says.

– Leslie Albrecht Popiel

CHILDHOOD: A JOURNEY

This three-hour series explores the daily lives of our planet's most precious resource — its children. *Childhood: A Journey* examines the status of children and children's issues around the globe. The series, hosted by Steve Delaney and produced by Emmy Award-winner Daniel Wilson, has received two prestigious CINE Golden Eagle Awards.

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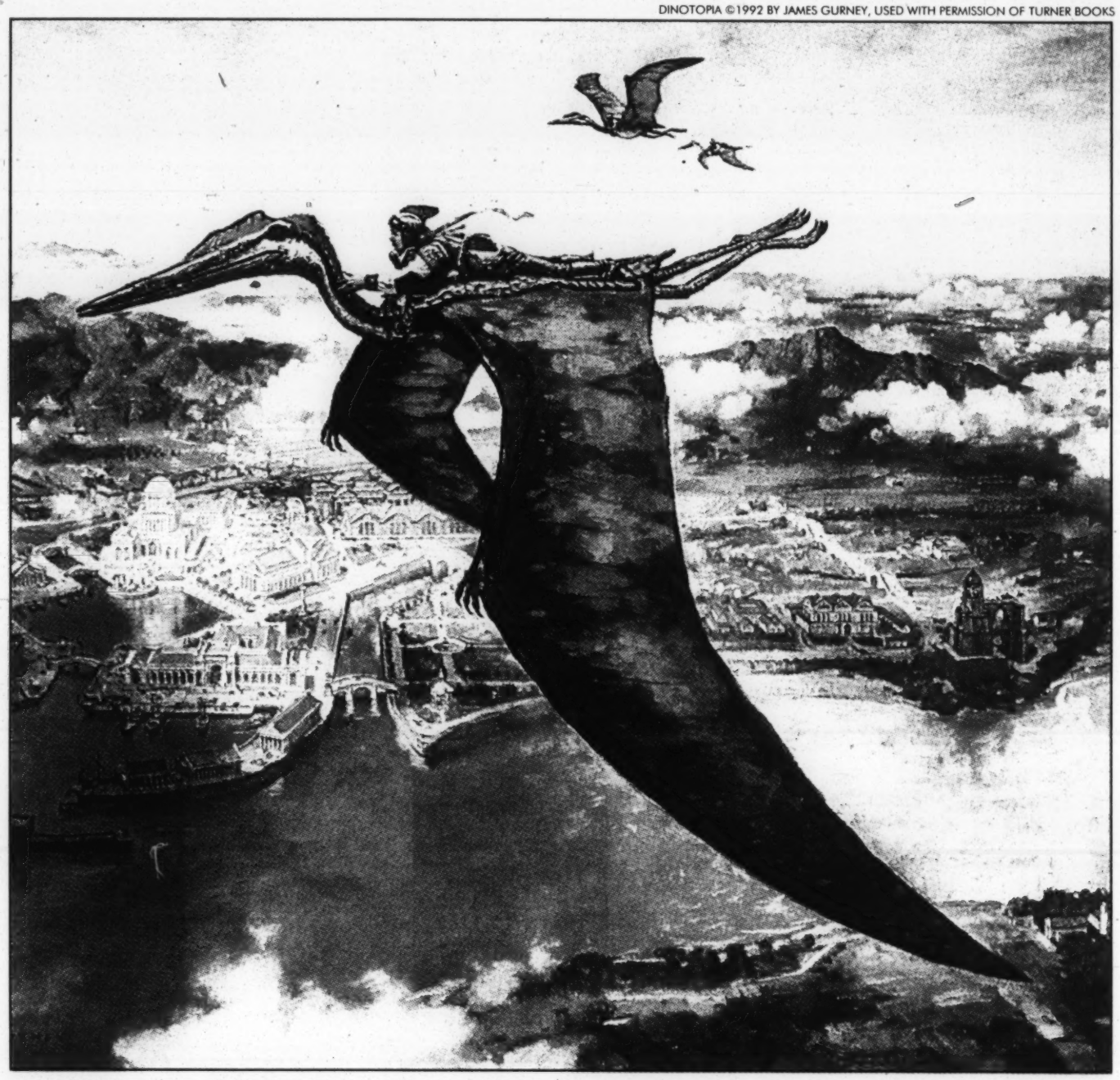
The Home Forum.

Dinosaurs: Fact, Fiction, and Guesswork

DINOTOPIA ©1992 BY JAMES GURNEY, USED WITH PERMISSION OF TURNER BOOKS



FLYING WITH THE QUETZALCOATLUS SKYBAX: *In the fantasy land of Dinotopia, humans and dinosaurs live together and cooperate. Here a boy 'earns his wings' (or more accurately a dinosaur's wings) for flying.*

THE dinosaurs are coming.

Or they have already arrived.

It depends on how you look at it. Or on how much imagination you have. Or on where you live.

In Europe, where I live, the movie "Jurassic Park" hasn't been released yet, so we have a few more weeks of freedom – of dinosaurlessness. We are still peacefully sure that dinosaurs are extinct.

But how alive dinosaurs are to you (even though they have been extinct for 65 million years) may also depend on how old you are. Some people, probably between the ages of about 3 and about 15, have been dinosaur-crazy since who knows when. They haven't been waiting for Steven Spielberg to make his film. They're already experts.

They are already surrounded – at least in their imaginations – by dinosaurs.

They probably know more about dinosaurs than they do about their own grandmas. Vulconodons may even mean more to them than the family dog.

Their bedroom walls are likely to be plastered with dinosaur posters. They'll have dinosaur rulers and dinosaur erasers. They eat dinosaur cookies. Their shelves display rows of scale models of Protoceratops and Triceratops. Their T-shirts have Oviraptors on the front and Velociraptors on the back. There's no doubt about it. Dinosaurs can get hold of some people. Have they gotten hold of you?

DINOSAUR AND OTHER PREHISTORIC ANIMAL FACT FINDER
By Dr. Michael Benton
Kingfisher Books,
256 pp. $12.95

DINOTOPIA: A LAND APART FROM TIME
Written and illustrated by James Gurney
Turner Publishing,
159 pp., $29.95

I've never met him, but I have a great-nephew, age 8, named Sam. He, I am informed, has been learning about such animals as Parasaurolophus and Carcharodontosaurus more or less since birth. When other kids build sandcastles on the beach or splash about in the surf, Sam draws dinosaurs in the sand with seaweed stems. Then he tests the adults nearby. "Identify!" he cries.

The adults all pretend they haven't heard him. This is because just about the only dinosaur they can remember is Tyrannosaurus rex! And they don't even know how to spell it. They have no idea what it looks like.

It's a puzzle, really. You'd expect old, old things like prehistoric reptiles to be very appealing to old, old things like parents, but mostly it seems to be young, young things who like them best.

Did you know that "Jurassic Park" was a book before it was a film?

Written by Michael Crichton, it first came out in 1991. It wasn't written for kids. (Some concerned people believe that the film is not for kids either because of its excessive violence.)

The book has a serious side to it as well as being gripping. Although it is science fiction – that is, not true at all – it is based on something that some physical scientists consider theoretically possible (but other scientists call impossible): that humans might be able to make living clones of extinct creatures. It's an aspect of what is called genetic engineering. And Crichton is pointing out, through his novel, that playing around cleverly with biology in this way could be very dangerous indeed.

Everything we know – or think we know – about dinosaurs comes from fossilized bones or even footprints, remains in rocks that were once buried deep but now are closer to the surface of the earth. Imagine footprints that millions and millions of years old! Some are large enough for a small child to sit in. Some are thought to show where and how a mother dinosaur and her baby went for a walk. Some scientists have decided that dinosaurs – and they were both very large and surprisingly small – were quick moving and lively. (Scientists used to think they were slow and cumbersome.)

Paleontologists have been studying dinosaur remains for only about 150 years. New dinosaur remains keep being discovered and uncovered. Previously unknown kinds of dinosaurs are all the time being pieced together and given names.

The first one ever to be named was the Megalosaurus (which means "giant reptile"), in 1824, by Willam Buckland, the professor of geology at Oxford University, England. He worked out what he thought this prehistoric creature must have been like from a small collection of bones found in a nearby village – a jawbone with long teeth, some limb bones, ribs, and vertebrae: That's all.

"Facts" like this – many of them – can be found in a well-organized and interesting book called "Dinosaur and Other Prehistoric Animal Fact Finder," by Dr. Michael Benton. The book is clear and has an informative introduction. It also has an A-to-Z list of more than 200 dinosaurs and prehistoric animals, good clear pictures, and longish descriptions of each animal.

Maps show where particular dinosaur remains have been found in the world. Diagrams show how big or little a dinosaur would be compared with a man; when it lived; and when and by whom its remains were first discovered.

KIDSPACE

'Kidspace' is a place on The Home Forum pages where kids can find stories that will spark imaginations, entertain with a tall tale, explain how things work, or describe a real-life event. These articles appear twice a month, usually on Tuesdays.

The book also explains what each dinosaur's name means: Massospondylus, for example, means "massive vertebra." And the book tries to keep away from fiction; but it is best to remember that a great many of the so-called facts about these incredibly old creatures are actually theory and hopeful guesswork.

As the hero-scientist of the book "Jurassic Park," Alan Grant, thinks aloud, we know "so little about dinosaurs.... After 150 years of research and excavation all around the world" we still know "almost nothing about what the dinosaurs had really been like."

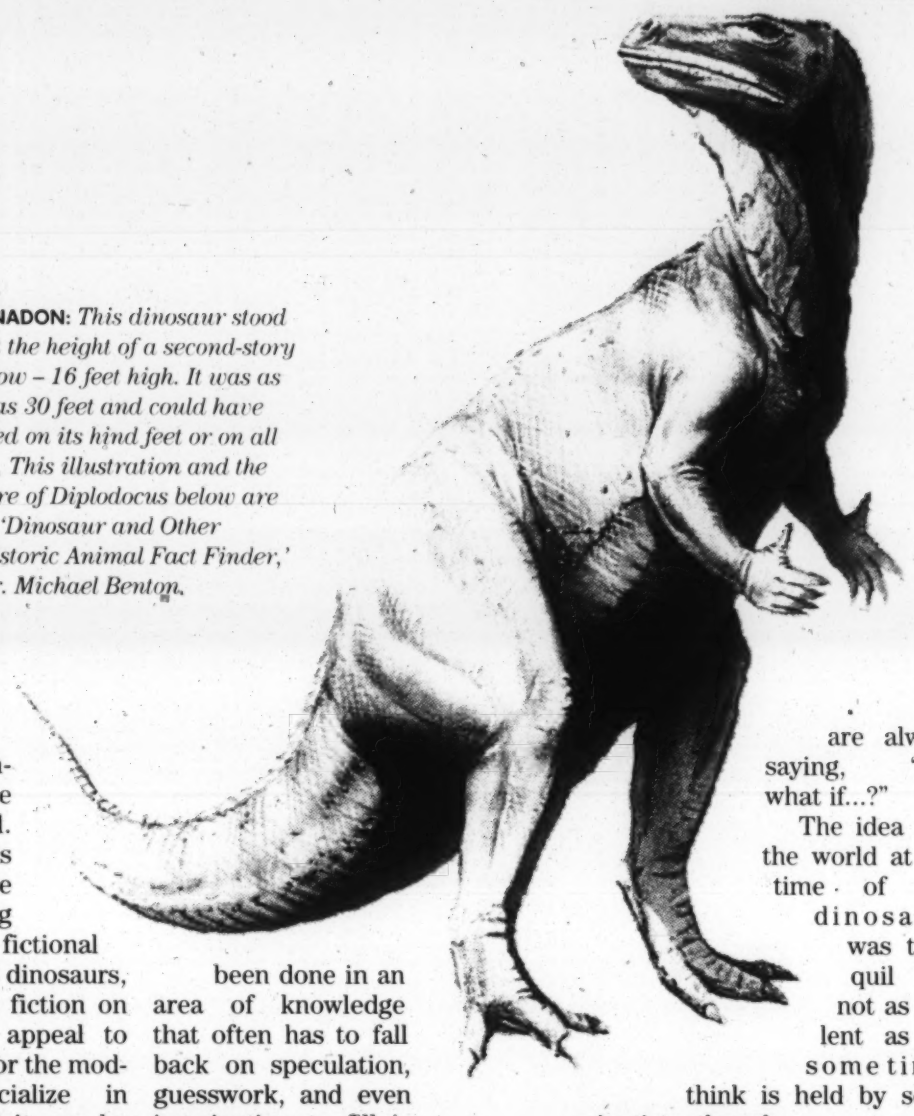
It has been suggested that the character and ideas of Grant (a fictional person) were based on two real paleontologists. One, Robert Bakker, has challenged a number of longstanding theories about dinosaurs.

He thinks they were not cold-blooded at all, as everyone had thought, but warm-blooded.

He believes they were probably rather brightly colored, because their eyes could probably see color, and because birds, which are their descendants, are often very colorful.

And his ideas about why they became extinct are different from

COURTESY OF KINGFISHER BOOKS



IGUANADON: *This dinosaur stood about the height of a second-story window – 16 feet high. It was as long as 30 feet and could have walked on its hind feet or on all fours. This illustration and the picture of Diplodocus below are from 'Dinosaur and Other Prehistoric Animal Fact Finder,' by Dr. Michael Benton.*

other theories.

Some other paleontologists do not agree with Dr. Bakker at all.

What is intriguing is that when people like Crichton and Spielberg come along and make fictional stories and films about dinosaurs, they try to base their fiction on the facts that most appeal to them. The same goes for the modelmakers who specialize in dinosaur models. And it can be the case with even the inventors of computer games.

Sega, the company that has made a new computer game (to be released in late summer and fall) based on "Jurassic Park," employed Bakker as a consultant. (He also appears in the game as a consultant for the players.) This means that a scientist dealing in facts is used to help make a game that is pure fiction. And this has been done in an area of knowledge that often has to fall back on speculation, guesswork, and even imagination to fill in where facts are simply not known.

There *are* books about dinosaurs, however, that don't even pretend to be based on fact.

One of the most charming is "Dinotopia," by James Gurney. This book, full of very carefully painted illustrations by the author, explains in smaller letters that "Dinotopia" is "A Land Apart from Time." It is!

Mr. Gurney's paintings of all sorts of herbivorous (and just one or two meat-eating and dangerous) dinosaurs are based on fact as far as possible. But his story is pure imagination. It is about an island where, over the years, humans are shipwrecked and then live in great harmony with the dinosaurs that inhabit it.

One thing – in spite of "Jurassic Park" and "Dinotopia" – that everyone is absolutely certain of is that that no dinosaur ever met a human being or the other way around. They lived many millions of years apart in history. But still we are always saying, "But what if...?"

The idea that the world at the time of the dinosaurs was tranquil and not as violent as we sometimes think is held by some scientists, though.

In a recent science section of a British newspaper, the Guardian, a geologist named Anna Grayson is quoted as saying that the dinosaur era "was a sort of Garden of Eden type of life ... with lots of creatures living together in a fairly settled ecosystem." She thinks the carnivores "were no more violent than the average lion or vulture; they had to eat to live, but they weren't monsters."

So perhaps the fictional fantasy of "Dinotopia," a kind of "peaceable kingdom," isn't completely off the wall.

Maybe we find dinosaurs fascinating because fact and fiction get mixed up easily when we think about them. Or because we can let our imaginations have fun with them.

This is what Gurney thinks. He says at the start of "Dinotopia" that his book is a journey in pictures – "an odyssey for the eye." He then adds that perhaps "imagination" is "in the end more true" than fossil evidence.

What do you think?

Christopher Andreae

DIPLODOCUS: *This dinosaur was 88 feet long and weighed between 10 and 11 tons.*

COURTESY OF KINGFISHER BOOKS

Finding Your Place

(Written especially for young people)

AS I circled the interior of a large multistory car park, my ten-year-old daughter suddenly piped up with words from a song from the musical, *West Side Story:* "There's a place for us, / Somewhere a place for us." Within seconds a slot appeared and we drove into it! Now of course, it is very handy to find a parking space when you need one. But it isn't always so easy to find your place in life—especially when you're young. But you *do* have a place, and God will show you how to find it.

The Bible assures us in the book of Acts that, as children of God, it is "in him we live, and move, and have our being." Each idea of God is always held in its right place—and that includes you and me. The spiritual fact is that each of us has a place to flourish and contribute, and this is provable in our everyday life.

Each individual is an important, in fact, essential part of God's creation. How can that be? You are the very outcome, or evidence, of His being. Just as without the sun's rays we wouldn't know there was a sun, and without the sun there would be no rays of light, so is each idea necessary to represent what God is, to show forth His qualities. As each of us acknowledges and lives the truth that man's being is spiritual, the reflection of God, we're able to see more clearly just the place God has for us to fill.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

There is, then, something you can do if you need help deciding what comes next. First of all, don't forget that God loves you. After all, He made you to show forth His wonderful qualities in your own special, distinct way. Because He loves you as His child, He has only progress and good in store for you. Just as a tailor measures a new coat for his customer, so each part of the garment of God's purpose for you is carefully measured and cut to fit.

Recently I was looking at rows of potted plants outside a shop that were waiting to be bought and planted in their own garden niche. I was struck by the beauty of each one. No two were the same. And each had its own soil, light, and air space. This just hints at the fact that each spiritual idea—including you—has its own support, space for development, progress, and joy in God. As we trust God with our next steps, trust that He knows what He's doing (and we can because He is all-wise and all-loving), we are less anxious about the wisdom of His plan for His children. We are willing to give up insisting that things go our way. We accept His infinite good and look forward to seeing just how His good plan will be made practical in our lives. Christ Jesus showed us how to do this.

It may be that you can't go in the direction you had expected, but don't flap. That slot for your next steps—spiritual and practical—is already established. Open your thought to it now. Acknowledge it. And remember that because God is good and gives only good to His creation, what He has for you is far *better* than anything you could imagine.

Because each individual includes, right now, the right ideas of opportunity, purpose, place, and activity, your next steps of spiritual advancement are not at risk by competition. Each idea is held in it's right place, so how could you ever be taking someone else's spot, or someone else be taking yours or even want to? We have our own niche, just for us. Mary Baker Eddy, the Founder of the Christian Science Church points out in her book *Retrospection and Introspection:* "Each individual must fill his own niche in time and eternity."

As you think about and make plans for your next human footsteps, be alert to throw out negative "no space for me" thoughts and enjoy expecting the good God has in store for you.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE SENTINEL

Undoing the drug-abusing society

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIAL

Bosnia: Tell the Truth

THE lights still left in a tolerant, multiethnic Bosnia seem about to go out. Last week the Serbs and the Croats announced a plan to partition Bosnia along ethnic lines. With the West unwilling to take sides in the 15-month Serbian siege of Bosnia, the aggressors may have their way. The 44-percent Muslim population get 10 percent of the land.

Such an outcome would be a victory for barbarism and set an ugly precedent. Bosnia was a political entity from 1878 to 1918, and has been one from 1945 to today. Forced by the West in 1992 to choose between being annexed to a "Greater Serbia" and gaining recognition, it chose the latter.

Now Western capitals, acting as if there are no other options, seem willing to compromise. European Community leaders and President Clinton are making none of the efforts required to pull Bosnia from the abyss. Their vague support of the Serb-Croat plan actually allows an indefinite continuation of the killing in Bosnia, where a million civilians are still under siege. Sarajevo may be leveled. Yet the British want to say Bosnia's borders will remain intact under Helsinki accords. This is so a partition will not seem to be what it is – capitulation.

Our own position has been that in the face of systematic genocide by Serbs against Bosnians, the West must do something. We have suggested everything from air-strikes and volunteer troops under Article 43 of the UN Charter to arming the Bosnians and protecting innocent lives in UN-declared "safe havens" as a minimum. Bosnian president Izetbegovic has begged for such help; there is a UN mandate for it.

What is not acceptable is to do nothing. Yet beyond paltry relief, nothing is what the West has done.

On what grounds is a sovereign nation given over to aggression? Is expediency the new world order?

Serb president Milosevic and Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic are charged with war crimes by the State Department. The No. 2 politician in Serbia, Vojislav Seselj, led "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia. Serbia's most volatile area – Kosovo, 90 percent Albanian – is led by Arkan whose paramilitary group massacred Bosnians last July.

The only opposition leader, Vuk Draskovic, was recently beaten and hospitalized by Seselj's men and is the only political prisoner in Europe.

It is with these thugs that European leaders and the White House plan to meet and support a partition.

Nor is the nightmare over. Bosnia's partition means war in Croatia can resume. The White House is proud of sanctions on Serbia. Yet Milosevic can use economic chaos as an excuse for a war in Kosovo that could spread.

The White House now calls Bosnia a civil war, an ethnic feud with atrocities committed by all sides. In fact, the war there was engineered by Belgrade as part of Milosevic's "Greater Serbia" strategy dating back to 1987.

If the West will not stop the genocide in Bosnia, it must at least tell the truth about what happened there.

Japan's Political Shake-Up

THE political *tsunami* that swept over Japan when Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa lost a no-confidence vote in parliament June 18 is altering the country's electoral landscape as it recedes.

Yesterday, 10 members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party broke off to form a new party dedicated to clean government. Tomorrow, another group of about 40 LDP lawmakers is expected to do likewise.

In the process, Japan is joining the ranks of other leading Western industrial allies that have faced a strong backlash against corruption, political stagnation, or both, as appears to be the case in Japan.

The backlash against corruption is coming largely from Japanese voters, who in recent weeks have seen yet another top political insider, Shin Kanemaru, engulfed in a multimillion-dollar bribery scandal. In addition, Mr. Miyazawa backed away from a modest set of political reforms, plunging his public-approval rating to 9 percent.

The backlash against stagnation, which is taking advantage of Miyazawa's weakness, is coming from a younger generation of LDP politicians who say they want a true two-party system in Japan, want more open debate about issues, and want to see their nation take on an international political role commensurate with its economic standing.

These are generally laudable objectives, although a more assertive Japanese role in international affairs could be expected to raise concerns elsewhere in Asia. But the LDP members who have cited these goals as reasons for splitting away from the party carry a burden of affiliation with the LDP: Many of them honed their political skills under the watchful eyes of the party's elder power brokers, several of whom have themselves been tainted by corruption scandals.

Japanese voters, traditionally wary of left-wing and splinter parties, have much to consider as elections, called for July 18, approach.

A fresh US approach to Iran could bolster reform efforts

Rafsanjani's 'Thankless' Job

By M. Reza Behnam

AFTER 2,500 years of reigning shahs, Iran reinvented itself with an Islamic revolution and constitution in 1979, instituting the modern world's first theocratic republic.

The new republic, initially given a life expectancy of six months, is now 14 years old and well-entrenched in Middle Eastern politics. On June 11, it held its sixth presidential election since 1980, reelecting Hashemi Rafsanjani for a second four-year term.

President Rafsanjani, who won by a landslide in July 1989, did not enjoy the same overwhelming approval from Iran's 32 million eligible voters this time, although his opposition consisted of three candidates with no political power base. In a pre-election television appearance, where his rivals debated the issues, Rafsanjani did not take part. The task of taking Iran into the year 2000 is a thankless one. Internally, a burgeoning population of 61 million, half of whom are 25 years old or younger, is restless and impatient. The young already are straining overcrowded schools and universities; soon they will be looking for jobs in a society with a 30-percent unemployment rate.

The task before Rafsanjani and the political elite is to balance Islamic values with economic welfare and social justice for all Iranians.

A country whose genius always has been in trade must now move toward modern production and technology. That translates into some sort of cooperation with the West. Iran has resumed ties with the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, implementing the economic reforms recommended by the former and borrowing $25 billion in the last four years from the latter.

Its credit rating has improved through increased oil production. By 1988 and the end of the Iran-Iraq war, Iran pumped 2.4 million barrels of oil per day (b.p.d.). By 1992, it had almost doubled to nearly 4 million b.p.d. That is good news for the country's five-year economic development plan; 65 percent of its financing comes from oil revenue. During his first term, Rafsanjani cut the budget deficit and reduced government control over imports, boosting real per capita income by 20 percent. Despite these achievements, Rafsanjani's efforts to diversify the economy have been frustrated by the country's unicameral Islamic Consultative Assembly, or Majlis. Its conservative deputies are suspicious of the West and Western-based financial institutions, believing that foreign economic aid usually is a precursor to political interference.

Nevertheless, the economy and unemployment have been so dominant a topic that different groups encouraged the electorate to boycott the election: the conservative clerics, on the grounds that no candidate had proposed an alternative to Rafsanjani's free-market policies; and the National Party secularists, who suggested that the system has brought nothing but misery and hardship.

Iran's economy and political life still are recovering from its bloody eight-year war (1980-88) with Iraq, which Iranians thought was provoked by the United States to squelch the nascent revolution. Although a United Nations-brokered truce silenced the guns, it has brought no formal peace treaty.

Because of a history of foreign interference, Iranians have an aversion to outsiders. This has become part of the national will, shaping Iran's modern *Realpolitik*. The US presence in northern and southern Iraq, which has a 720-mile border with Iran, and America's well-established involvement with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Persian Gulf states, Egypt, and Israel reinforces the Iranian aversion.

A May 26 US State Department policy paper, which calls for economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation of Iran by the US, its European allies, and Japan, is seen by Iranians as one more attempt by Washington to control them. The perception of American hegemony fuels the discontent among Islamists in Iran and elsewhere in the Middle East. Since Islam as a political idiom guided the Iranian revolution against America's 37-year ally, Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, it has become a rallying cry against governmental injustice in other countries.

Islam inspired, shaped, and maintains Iran's revolution. The task before Rafsanjani and the political elite is to work toward a society that balances Islamic values with economic welfare and social justice for all Iranians. They have endured revolution, invasion, scarce goods and services, and unemployment, among other vicissitudes, during the past 14 years. The new Rafsanjani administration should bring the reality of the revolutionary promise to a people who have sacrificed so much. It should begin by opening the political and economic process to more-diverse opinions, particularly those of the secularists. He needs their managerial skills, and they were promised participation.

This must be encouraged by a new US foreign policy no longer based on intrusion, intimidation, and coercion. The US must overcome the villainous role it established for itself in 1953 when the CIA fomented the removal of Iran's nationalist prime minister, Muhammad Mossadeq – a negative image that has prevailed in Iranian minds ever since. The US also must initiate a policy that balances the interests of the Middle East's Muslims with its interests in Israel. As a first step, the US should formally recognize Iran and unfreeze its assets in the US. This would allay the discontent of Iran's Islamists, enhance the status of secular managers, and cultivate friends in Iran and among Muslims in general.

■ *M. Reza Behnam is a political scientist and director of the Institute for Advanced Middle Eastern Studies in Eugene, Ore. His book "Cultural Foundations of Iranian Politics," is a winner of the Outstanding Book Award by "Choice."*

OPINION/ESSAYS

Superfund Is Up to Environmental Task

By Andrew Ratzkin

WITH congressional reauthorization hearings under way, the federal Superfund law, principal vehicle for the cleanup of toxic dump sites, is increasingly under attack in the name of "third-wave environmentalism." Superfund – officially the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA) is commonly seen as generating wasteful bureaucracy, misguided priorities, and excessive litigation.

The law surely has its shortcomings. But if the Clinton administration truly believes its own rhetoric, it should rush to defend CERCLA's unique, if almost invisible, injection of environmental concern into the private sector. CERCLA has been a wild success in grabbing corporate America by the lapels and enlisting its considerable resources in the remediation of environmental hazards.

Opponents often point to the weighty sums allocated to fund the law's provisions ($10.9 billion since 1980), and the slow pace of cleanup of Superfund sites around the country.

While the pace of completing cleanups is hard to defend (161 out of thousands of potential sites have been remediated), many observers fail to realize that the Superfund law contains two key parts, only one of which pertains to the actual funds allocated by Congress.

The law's arguably more significant component has nothing to do with federal funding of cleanups.

At CERCLA's legal heart is a little-seen change to property liability rules, which has effected a quiet revolution in the conduct of American business.

CERCLA has done more to bring environmental issues into the corporate boardroom than any other United States environmental law. It accomplished this by imposing private-party cleanup liability on owners of polluted property.

This means that, once in the chain of title, a party can remain on the hook for a share of sometimes millions of dollars of cleanup costs.

Potential buyers now think twice (or at least they should) before buying property that could become an environmental liability; as a result, they often conduct "environmental due diligence" investigations, and demand legal protections from sellers. Consider CERCLA's threefold effect:

First, the law provides powerful incentives for private parties to conduct environmental investigations at suspect sites; these investigations are the first step toward any remediation, and they often provide vital initial public-health information.

Second, by encouraging parties to agree among themselves on environmental responsibility, CERCLA effects self-policing and private-party cleanup that doesn't cost the government a dime.

CERCLA has been a wild success in grabbing corporate America by the lapels and enlisting its considerable resources in the remediation of environmental hazards.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, because the presence of on-site pollutants discourages potential buyers and depresses value, CERCLA provides a much-needed incentive for businesses to prevent pollution in the first place.

In fact, by drawing attention to environmental issues in the midst of a "deal" – when money is on the table and management is paying attention – CERCLA raises environmental concerns when resources are most likely to be committed. CERCLA has brought environmental concern to garden-variety business transactions.

Of course, not everyone is happy about that. Attending to environmental matters has meant that new costs crop up during real estate sales, mergers, and acquisitions. But this is precisely the point from an environmental policy standpoint: Environmental costs should become a real "cost of doing business."

And in any event, as businesses become more familiar with the law's dictates, CERCLA increasingly becomes part of the normal background business environment – the way, say, title searches are.

The current system is admittedly imperfect, and improvements should be welcomed. For instance, bioremediation, instead of hauling and incinerating massive amounts of soil, should be permitted where appropriate.

But however current debates over appropriate technologies and acceptable risks are resolved, Superfund's central liability scheme, which is in essence an elegant but simple shift of environmental responsibility between business entities – from the hapless buyer to shared responsibility with the seller and other past owners – should not be fundamentally disturbed without devising a better alternative.

The alternative to CERCLA financing most often suggested is the establishment of a public works-style cleanup program. It would shift liability from responsible parties to taxpayers (in effect, expanding that portion of CERCLA, the congressionally allocated fund itself, which is most notoriously beset by complaints of excessive cost and little accomplishment).

In this age of deficit-hawk ascendancy, such a "reform" would be anomalous, indeed. Moreover, CERCLA's liability provisions are a model of "new generation" environmental controls which, instead of relying exclusively on command-and-control regulations, use market forces to reflect environmental costs on corporate balance sheets.

If economic development and environmental interests are to be truly compatible, as the Clinton administration advocates, then we will need more, not fewer, laws like Superfund that send the right environmental signals to businesses.

■ *Andrew Ratzkin practices environmental law in Washington.*

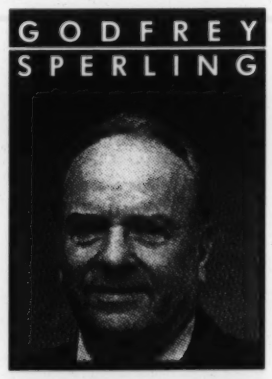
Remembering Candidate Clinton on Credibility

WITH a number of the president's actions raising the question of his credibility, I decided to revisit an early Clinton get-together with the Monitor breakfast group to see what, if anything, he might have said about what a president must do to keep people believing in him.

That session with the press occurred a year ago last September – a few days before Mr. Clinton announced his candidacy for the highest office. The tape reveals that Clinton himself brought up the subject of the public's cynicism with politicians and what he would have to do to deal with this problem. It was a passionate little speech, something he doubtless had thought about before coming. A summary of his words won't do; so let's listen to it all, to get the full flavor:

"There's a problem that all of us have: A lot of voters see us as self-seeking politicians, who raise money from interest groups so we can get on 30-second television ads to run our opponents down or tell the people what to hear so we can get elected and do what we please. That's the way a lot of folks feel about us.

"And I think there is a great burden to try to reconnect the American people to the political process and make them believe again. And if they can't – if they have no hope, if they have no sense of the possibilities – then they can't be a part of any vision I would offer. And it would then be difficult to be effective if elected – and very difficult to be elected in the first place.



"I think the only thing you can do is to try to demonstrate credibility – to do things that are consistent with what you are saying and try to demonstrate, not only through passion but also through common sense and consistency and not only by that which you say but by what you do; that you mean what you say and you believe the future can be different."

This piece of Clinton wisdom came, interestingly enough, immediately after an answer he had been giving on what he would do about taxes. "Is the aggregate tax burden today just about right?" someone asked. "I think the aggregate tax burden is about right," said Clinton. "But I think the middle-class tax burden is too high."

Here he went on to say that he thought the "overall percentage" of people's income being taxed was "about right" but that he felt those in the higher income brackets should pay more and those with middle incomes should pay less.

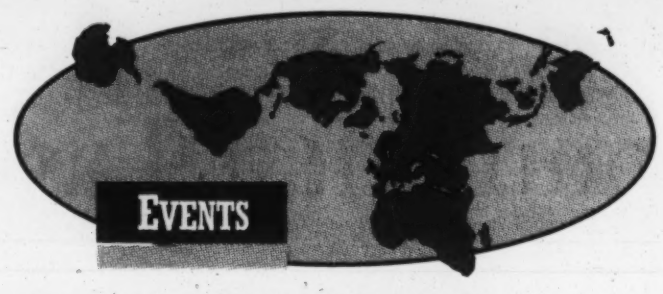
The juxtaposition of Clinton's observations about credibility with what he had to say about lowering middle-income taxes was probably accidental. But it's ironic that he was expressing his views about the need for politicians to be "consistent" and "demonstrate" that they "mean" what they say while, in the next breath, talking about a tax plan – described as a break for the middle class during the campaign – that he now seems unable to achieve.

The Bill Clinton who was unveiling his persona and aspirations to the nation's print press that morning looks far different, in retrospect, than the candidate who finally emerged. He was solicitous of approval, even deferential to the questioners. He was obviously a bit awed by the experience and more than a little anxious about the grilling he was expecting, particularly about the charges of extramarital conduct.

He had brought Hillary with him to stand by and provide corroboration when he again delivered a little speech – this one aimed at clearing the air on a most troubling subject. He said he and his wife had had "problems" but they had "worked them out."

Another notable irony that surfaced in his remarks at the breakfast was Clinton's obvious intention to run against a Congress that was in the doghouse with the American voters. Now, of course, Clinton is courting a Congress he once thus spurned, trying to move his programs along. Is it any wonder that he's having so much trouble bringing these legislators, Democrats as well as Republicans, to his side?

Remember the Democratic convention and the way the Democratic congressional leaders were treated by the Clinton forces? People like Tom Foley and George Mitchell and Richard Gephardt were kept on the sidelines. Clinton wanted people to feel that as a president he would not be closely tied to those unpopular fellows on Capitol Hill.



US SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

The Supreme Court yesterday upheld the Clinton administration's policy of intercepting and returning Haitian refugees without hearing their requests for political asylum. The court ruled 8-1 that the policy of stopping the Haitians in international waters and sending them back to their country does not violate federal immigration law or international treaty obligations. Yesterday's ruling reversed a federal appeals court decision that said the policy was illegal. The Supreme Court had postponed that ruling's effect while it considered the case. The ruling is a victory for the Clinton administration, which adopted the repatriation policy begun by the Bush administration.

The court also let stand a ruling that said unlawful racial segregation may still exist in Topeka, Kansas, schools. The justices, without comment, refused to review a federal appeals court ruling that Topeka school officials have failed to prove they removed all "vestiges" of one-time mandatory segregation.

And the Supreme Court ruled to let stand a ban on political campaigning from the sidewalks outside post offices across the nation.

Flooding in Bangladesh

Hunger and disease are spreading among tens of thousands of Bangladeshis hit by floods that have already killed more than 200 people, officials said yesterday. Families have been marooned for nearly a week with virtually no food or drinking water.

The flooding, caused by rain-swollen rivers running down from the Himalayas, worsened yesterday following heavy showers in the past 24 hours.

Officials said relief and rescue efforts were inadequate, but the government said operations were hindered by rain and poor communications.

Ban on Nigerian results appealed

Nigeria's National Electoral Commission was planning yesterday to appeal a court order preventing it from releasing the results of the June 12 presidential elections, press reports say.

The Nigerian military authorities boosted police strength in Lagos Monday as the deadline for a civilian president to be named passed without any announcement.

The leadership of the centre-left Social Democratic Party, which claims its candidate, Mashood Abiola, was the clear winner of the election, instructed party followers to maintain complete calm, party sources said.

New mayor in Milan

Umberto Bossi and his regional-based Northern League party, which rails against government waste and advocates greater autonomy for northern Italy, have captured their biggest prize yet: the mayoralty of the city of Milan.

With the League's Marco Formentini in office in their stronghold, the party's performance in government takes the national spotlight and the burden of proving its claim to be the only untainted, efficient political force in Italy.

Endeavour launched

The space shuttle Endeavour ducked through clouds and raced into orbit yesterday with six astronauts on board to retrieve a European science satellite filled with an assortment of experiments.

Besides the satellite capture, the mission also features a practice spacewalk and the unveiling of the world's first commercial laboratory.

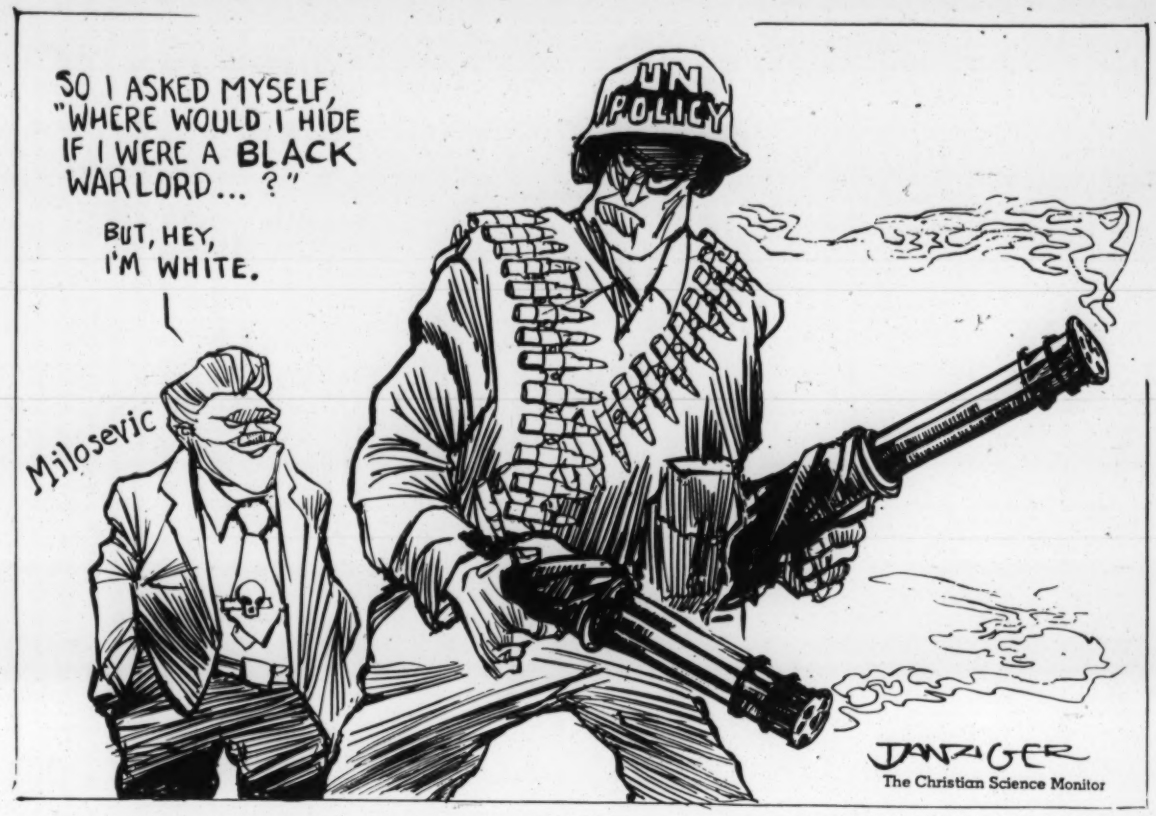
The eight-day mission is scheduled to end June 29 with a Kennedy Space Center landing.

Nicaraguan unrest

Confrontations between Nicaraguan police and militant strikers have grown more violent as the deeply divided nation wrestles with economic and political problems. In three encounters, 19 have been injured and 67 arrested.

Strikes and protests have become common here as economic problems – especially a 60 percent unemployment rate – mount and as the government tries to bridge deep political differences and find consensus on how to move Nicaragua forward.

– Compiled by Faye Bowers


SO I ASKED MYSELF, "WHERE WOULD I HIDE IF I WERE A BLACK WARLORD... ?"
BUT, HEY, I'M WHITE.
Milosevic
UN POLICY
JANIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

An 'Intellectual Disneyland'

Can high-tech interactive learning revolutionize schools?

By Jeff Bingaman

IN a cluster of nine small high schools scattered across the plains of rural eastern New Mexico, the classrooms of the future are emerging.

High school students in San Jon, House, and Grady – some of the most rural communities in New Mexico – are taking advanced classes from a college some 50 miles away. Through a two-way interactive video system, these students have been linked to each other and to the Clovis Community College.

Through the application of technology to education, these students are participating in a regional classroom and have access to educational resources that don't exist in their small schools and communities. This pocket of innovation in my state of New Mexico is a simple, but instructive, example of how technology can expand the educational opportunities for America's elementary and secondary school students.

The Education Technology Act of 1993, which I introduced recently with Sens. Edward Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts, Thad Cochran (R) of Mississippi, and Tom Harkin (D) of Iowa, would develop a comprehensive strategy to help integrate educational technology into the curriculum of every American classroom.

This is the most cost-effective method the federal government can use to help states meet the challenge of the National Education Goals, which we are establishing.

Through the bill, the federal government will become a catalyst for a dramatic improvement in student achievement by providing all students with access to modern learning technologies and linking America's elementary and secondary schools to powerful telecommunications and computer networks.

Today's students face the most dynamic and rapidly changing workplace of any American generation.

Since American educational achievement, economic growth and international competitiveness are bound together, our nation's future economic prosperity is linked to an education system that emphasizes excellence and high standards.

Educational technologies will revolutionize the way we teach our children and prepare them for the workplace of the future.

Technology can become a facilitator to the restructuring effort for our schools.

Through interactive information networks using cable, satellite, fiber optics, and computers, students in both rural and urban schools can take courses such as advanced math and science instruction.

Educational technologies can provide all students with access to the self-paced, high-quality instruction that will boost their ability to meet the new, higher standards of the National Education Goals.

Through creative uses of technology, a student can enter an intellectual Disneyland.

The pockets of innovation – like the one in New Mexico I described earlier – exist. But the classrooms of the future we are designing across the nation, utilizing educational technology, must be grounded with the goal of equity and access for all students.

The Education Technology Act of 1993 can provide the vision, the strategy, and the resources to make that goal a reality.

■ *Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D) of New Mexico is a member of the education subcommittee of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. He is also one of two US senators on the National Education Goals Panel.*